THE MUSLIM WORLD

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A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF ISLAM AND OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONSHIP IN PAST AND PRESENT

EDITOR
WILLEM A. BIJLEFELD
CO-EDITOR
ISSA J. BOULLATA

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IN THIS ISSUE

We are pleased to offer in this issue articles by four scholars new to our pages (Madden, Walker, Ebied and Young) and to welcome back two (Magnarella, Stone) whose earlier contributions appeared during the last several years.

In "The Infinite Pattern in Islamic and Christian Art," Dr. Edward H. Madden (Philosophy Department, State University of New York at Albany) shows that "the 'infinite pattern' is far from a monolithic concept but consists in a group or series of aesthetic-religious symbols that bear family resemblance to each other."

One of the doctrines characteristic of the Ismā'īlīs is the notion of hierarchies. In his study, Dr. Paul E. Walker (Historian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.) concentrates on cosmic hierarchies, specifically as they are treated in the writings of al-Sijistānī.

Dr. R. Y. Ebied and Dr. M. J. L. Young (Department of Semitic Studies, The University of Leeds, England) make a contribution to the field of historical and literary studies about Spain during the Reconquista period in their article on Abū 'l-Baqā' al-Rundī.

Dr. Paul J. Magnarella (Department of Anthropology, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.) discusses the assimilation of a group of Muslim Georgians who fled the Caucasus in the late nineteenth century and established a village with a group of formerly nomadic Turks in northwestern Turkey. Dr. Magnarella believes "that the conclusions drawn from the examination of [their] experience have wider applicability to other Georgians in Turkey."

Nineteenth-century Turkey saw also the establishment of girls' schools by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, inspired by the educational philosophy of Mary Lyons, founder of the Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary in South Hadley, Massachusetts. Dr. Frank A. Stone (Foundations and Curriculum Department, School of Education, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Ct.) examines "Mt. Holyoke's Impact on the Land of Mt. Ararat."

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THE INFINITE PATTE
IN ISLAMIC AND CHRISTI

1

Traditional or religious art is the expression o
of a complete culture, in contrast to the i
expressive features of contemporary art and
Western art since the Renaissance. Decorati
all traditional art, but it is always symbolic in nature and is
something added as an afterthought. In Islamic art the infinite pattern, the arabesque, and stylized calligraphy all have significant symbolic functions wherever they occur; each in its own way is a surrogate in the physical world of such spiritual concepts as Allāh's infinity, transcendence, and unity.[1] In traditional Christian art there is little emphasis on arabesques or calligraphy, but there is a tradition in this context also of the infinite pattern, the expression of which, as we shall see, depends upon the particular Christian context.

Given the prevalence of the infinite pattern in both Islamic and Christian art, it is surprising that no clear definition of the concept of the infinite pattern exists or that no analysis of the expressive variability of the pattern in different contexts has been written. This article intends to show that the 'infinite pattern' is far from a monolithic concept but consists in a group or series of aesthetic-religious symbols that bear family resemblance to each other. I will characterize each variation and isolate two 'pure' or classical forms, one each in the Muslim and Christian contexts. The classical patterns and all their 'relatives,' it turns out, are perfectly definite in their

[1] E. H. Madden, "Some Characteristics of Islamic Art," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, July, 1975.

symbolism, though they can be, and are, differently interpreted in different religious contexts. However, these variant interpretations are not simply a matter of Islamic vs. Christian contexts but occur in each context. The infinite pattern is differently regarded, e.g., by Sunni Muslims and certain Sufi mystics, on the one hand, and among Celtic, Latin, and Monophysitic Christianity, on the other. In its purest form, it will be argued in the concluding section, the infinite pattern is especially appropriate to the classical Sunni Muslim world view.

2

While the infinite pattern plays a role in Christian art, it plays a much more prominent role in Islamic art, which therefore will be discussed first. What is to count as the 'infinite pattern' in Islam? There are many candidates that have family resemblances. To begin with, geometrical, floral, and vegetal arabesques appear in many forms in Islamic art—woven into rugs, molded into the stone or stucco walls of a mosque, wrought in ceramic tiles and wrapped around the inner and outer sides of mosque domes, or carved into the sides of a miḥrāb. The essence of the arabesque, whatever its content, is the constant repetition of a particular pattern with the resultant suggestion of its infinite continuation. It is as if any given arabesque were simply an arbitrary part of an infinite series of such repetitions. An early Turkish rug, so to speak, with its woof and warp, puts an arbitrary frame around a piece of the infinite. In this way the Muslim artist emphasizes the Infinity of Allāh and his complete Unity in complexity. In an arabesque there is absolutely no emphasis on any given element in the design or pattern being repeated. No individual part is accentuated; every part is subordinated to the pattern which exhibits unity in multiplicity. In this way the Muslim artist both expresses the fact that his religion is independent of any historical happening or occasion, such as the Incarnation in Christianity, and exhibits the complete unity in diversity of Allāh.

There can be no doubt that the arabesque is a fundamental religious symbol and that its meaning can best be unfolded along the lines indicated above. It is equally true, as we have seen, that the arabesque in a sense captures the concept of infinity by its suggestion of endless repetition. It is also true that one art historian includes the arabesque along with other decorative motifs as "the infinite pattern." [2] Never-

[2] Ernst J. Grube, *The World of Islam* (New York: McGraw-Hill, n.d.), pp. 11, 67-68.

theless, as we shall see, the infinite pattern is a specific decorative motif quite distinct from the arabesque concept and one, moreover, that has numerous variations with only family resemblances. All of these variations have been lumped together as the infinite pattern, and we need to distinguish them.

In most general terms, the infinite pattern consists of an interlaced line passing over and under itself and thereby forming intricate geometrical patterns. The line is continuous, having no beginning or end, and may take either a straight line or curvilinear form. In Islamic art the straight line form is more predominant. The straight line passing over and under itself creates geometrical forms such as stars, polygons, and triangles. The linear infinite pattern appears either in separate decorative plaques as in the Great Mosque of Cordoba or in overall wall decorations, either internal or external, as on the underside of the lintel of the western entrance of the Great Mosque of Damascus. Another impressive example of the linear infinite pattern is to be found on the exterior dome of the Mausoleum of Sultan Quait Bey (1468-1496) in Cairo. In all the cases, and many more that could be cited, the design itself does not consist of self-contained geometrical units created outside the linear pattern by the interlacing but has a distinct existence of its own. In all cases of the infinite pattern—which has no beginning or end and is self-contained—the design is at once symbolic both of Allāh's infinity and unity in multiplicity and at once expressive both of His transcendence and the concept of *al-tawḥīd*.[3] The infinite pattern is created expressly to draw attention away from the parochial and provincial to what is universally true, from the fragmented historical point in time to continuous Necessary Being.

There are several designs in Islamic art that bear a family resemblance to the infinite pattern but are not exactly exemplifications of it. First, there is the case of an interlacing line passing over and under itself but not unified; though it does not have a discernible beginning or end, the line is not continuous. The interlacing line passing over and under itself comes into and goes out of the 'border' at regular intervals. It is like the arabesque in the sense that it suggests infinite repetition in passing over and under itself and, like

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[3] Cf. Zuheir Al-Faquih, "Islamic Art—Submission to Divine Will," *The Arab World*, July-August, 1970, pp. 16-25; I. R. Al-Faruqi, "Misconceptions of the Nature of Islamic Art," *Islam and the Modern Age*, I (1970), 29-49, and "Islam and Art," *Studia Islamica*, XXXVII (1973), 81-109; Titus Burckhardt, "The Spirit of Islamic Art," *Islamic Quarterly*, I (1954), 212-218, and "Perennial Values in Islamic Art," *Studies in Comparative Religion*, I (1967), 132-141.

a Turkish rug, puts an arbitrary frame around a piece of the infinite. The interlacing line creates a number of repetitive geometrical figures, such as polygons, triangles, five-, six-, and eight-pointed stars which, like an arabesque, suggest the infinite repetition of a pattern. Of this sort of variation on the infinite pattern there are elegant examples in the two Islamic rooms in the Gonzáles Martí National Museum of Ceramics, the old Palace of the Marquis of Dos Aguas (built in the fifteenth century) in Valencia, Spain.

Similar variations on the infinite pattern are to be found in the window screens of the Mausoleum of Sultan Qalāwūn in Cairo, the Great Mosque of Cordoba, and the Great Mosque of Damascus, among numerous other mosques and mausoleums throughout the Islamic world. In all these cases the interlacing line passing over and under itself creates geometrical figures—stars, polygons, etc.—and itself gives the appearance of disappearing and reappearing beyond the confines imposed by the frame of the window. In these designs infinity is suggested in two ways, both by the repeated pattern of geometrical figures whose infinite repetition is implied, as in any arabesque, and in the truncated infinite pattern itself which is seen imperfectly through a finite window.

Still another variation of the infinite pattern is an interlacing line that creates rosettes and palmettos as the focal point in each unit of the repeated design. The line crosses over from unit to unit, and so is continuous, and the rosettes and palmettos are repeated continuously, as in an arabesque, and suggest endless repetitions. The pattern again is linear as in most variations of the infinite pattern but in this case produces individual geometrical figures or irregular shapes rather than stars, polygons, and triangles. There are excellent examples of the rosette infinite pattern in ceramic tiles in the Islamic rooms at the Palace of the Marquis of Dos Aguas in Valencia. It is interesting to note that the Museum's collection of thirteenth- to fifteenth-century Spanish ceramics makes it clear that the use of the infinite design had virtually disappeared in Christian Spain by that time, though the Christian artists used many of the traditional geometrical figures and calligraphic forms of the Muslim artists. There are many figures with crossing lines, but they suggest flat surfaces rather than one line passing over and under itself.

It is clear that all variations of the infinite pattern have symbolic functions similar to that of the arabesque. They all visually suggest or represent the Infinity of Allāh and his Complete Unity in complexity. However, the first form of the infinite pattern is peculiarly well suited to this specific symbolism, for in one complete figure that

has no beginning or end but consists in the intricate interweaving of a single line both the infinity and unity in diversity of Allāh are rendered visually in one stroke—completely by itself and not augmented by suggestion or implication. The other variations of the infinite pattern, like arabesques, only suggest the notion of infinity by virtue of the implication of the endlessness of the repeated pattern. Hence the concept of Unity in complexity is also only implied in these cases, for all that we have visually in 'imperfect' infinite patterns and arabesques is unity in complexity.

While the classical version of the infinite pattern is a particularly felicitous way of symbolizing a basic Islamic commitment, it must be kept in mind that all versions of the infinite pattern, arabesques, and Arabic calligraphy serve in an overall way the same symbolic functions. Collectively they express the same import: Allāh is a Unity in his multiplicity, infinite, and transcendent, and Islam is universal, unlimited, nonparochial, ahistorical and nondramatic in its orientation. Islam has no dramatic denouement such as the Incarnation. The seventh century is crucial to the Muslim because his Revelation occurred then, but there is nothing crucial about that point in time that figures as part of the Revelation. Hence what came before the seventh century does not simply anticipate it, and what happened since is not explained by what happened then. The whole of time is conceived by the Muslim in a seriatim, not cumulative way; and any part of it is to be explained and understood by the universal, infinite, transcendent, and unified Allāh signified by the infinite patterns, the arabesques, and the calligraphic designs. It is not by accident that all of these decorative symbols are aggressively non-representational. The general preference for abstract art in all Muslim societies, and its virtual universal preference in traditional Sunni societies, results from the fact that only by abstractions can one hope to symbolize the universal, transcendent, unified Necessary Being. Or, making the point in a different way, it would be impossible to draw attention away from the limited, the historical, and the parochial by using pictorial icons.

While the infinite pattern is especially expressive of the commitment to the classical Sunni tradition, it must not be supposed that it uniquely expresses these commitments, for the infinite pattern is also traditionally used by the Sufis, Shi'ites, and Isma'ilis. The question arises whether the infinite pattern means the same thing within all these contexts. Within the Sunni tradition there has been a tension between the legal traditionalists, who emphasize the sufficiency of the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth, and the Sufi mystics, itself a highly complex and

variegated group. Moderate mystics like al-Ghazālī emphasize that legalism must be supplemented with a personal communion with Allāh and that the law must not be followed blindly but from proper motives. It is the blend of this traditional legalism and moderate 'mysticism' that I have in mind when I refer to the classical Sunni tradition. Many Sufi mystics were more radical, however, claiming as they did that there are special mystic avenues to truth and even making the heretical pantheistic claim that true union with Allāh involves loss of individual being—that Allāh, in short, is the only reality. In many situations, Sufism exists as a popular religion along with the Sunni tradition; messiahship and veneration of Sufi Masters as saints often became prominent, and these two concepts were exceedingly influential in development of the Shi'a and Isma'ili traditions.

Sufi and Shi'a monuments and manuscripts exhibit all the classical abstract decorative symbols of the Sunni tradition—the infinite pattern, arabesques, and Arabic calligraphy. A crucial question, then, is whether these symbols, and particularly the infinite pattern, mean exactly the same thing as they do in the classical context, or whether the symbols take on new meanings in the new contexts. The latter alternative certainly seems likely, since the Sufi tradition is gnostic in nature and has a long history of finding hidden, esoteric meaning in traditional words, texts, and symbols. This point must be kept in mind when reading the Sufi Master's teaching stories, all of which have various surface meanings and a 'more important' hidden meaning that the Master is adept at unraveling. Moreover, before the fourth century A.H.—that is, before the introduction of the Greek philosophical vocabulary by such men as al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā which the Sufis eventually used—the Sufis used traditional theological vocabulary to express their own esoteric beliefs and experiences that went beyond the surface of the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth. The traditional vocabulary usually was given a different or unusual meaning but the new meaning was left indefinite and unfixed. Eventually the Neoplatonic vocabulary became dominant in expressing the metaphysical and mystical commitments that are at the bottom of most Sufi schools. It seems quite clear that arabesques and the infinite pattern could well be given various esoteric meanings, depending upon the various Sufi schools, in addition to their supposed classical meaning. [4] Indeed,

[4] Architectural decoration is considered in some detail in *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture* by N. Ardalan and L. Bakhtiar (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), but, unfortunately, instead of shedding light on

there was nothing to prevent even pantheistically inclined Sufis like al-Ḥallāj and Ibn 'Arabī from taking the infinite pattern as a symbol of unity in the sense that Allāh is the *only* reality and as a symbol of transcendence in the sense that the Divine Message must be sought beyond and behind the literal Revelation. For al-Ḥallāj and Ibn 'Arabī the infinite pattern is perfectly suited to symbolize the notion that in spite of all the appearance of diversity there is only ultimately one unified whole.

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The question of what is to count as the 'infinite pattern' in Christian art and what its symbolic significance is in that context is just as difficult to answer as the corresponding one for Islamic art. Again there are many candidates that have family resemblances, but I will isolate the pattern in its purest, or classical, form in this context and show that while it is similar to the classical Islamic form it is by no means identical with it.

Celtic Christian art, in manuscript illuminations and stone crosses, exhibits numerous candidates for the role of infinite pattern. There are designs consisting of intricately intertwined and interwoven lines, crossing over and under themselves, often ending as a leaf or the head and jaws of an animal. [5] That they have beginnings and endings at all precludes them from being pure examples of the infinite pattern, but that they suggest an 'everlasting return'—and hence infinity—by the constant coiling back of these forms on themselves cannot be denied either. These designs seem uniquely fitted to express the early Gaelic form of thought, which was a subtle mixture of the natural and supernatural, the finite and the infinite, and the ordinary and the miraculous. The world is a grand mixture of the infinite power and goodness of God and the unstable finite world where the improbable often happens; forms are unstable, and transmutation is everywhere

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the present issue either repeats points by now well known or *exemplifies* the gnostic commitment to hidden meaning! An example of the former: "The ennoblement of surfaces through the transformation of matter is the primary purpose of surface adornment; only in this way can matter lose its heaviness" (p. 35). An example of the latter: "Three as number, and as triangle in geometry, reflects the fundamental conception of spirit, soul, and body which makes up all of creation" (p. 48).

[5] Cf. Françoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period*, rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1965); Bruce Arnold, *A Concise History of Irish Art* (New York: Praeger, 1968); *Irish Illuminated Manuscripts of the Early Christian Period*, introduction by J. J. Sweeny (New York: New American Library, 1965).

in evidence.[6] These floramorphic and zoomorphic 'infinite patterns' clearly did not begin with Celtic Christian art but, as we have come to realize as a result of the discovery of the "Sutton Hoo Ship Burial," occurred abundantly in earlier Western pagan art.[7]

There are also Celtic designs where each of two or three lines goes over and under itself and the others, and each one forms an infinite pattern in the technical sense that it has no beginning or end. But since the overall pattern is a union of two or more interwoven infinite patterns, the general effect, while one of infinity, is not one of Unity. That the Trinitarian sense of Christianity weakened the emphasis on Unity while retaining the emphasis on infinity and transcendence may well be the case, though it cannot be stressed because there are numerous cases also of a pure form of the infinite pattern. Again in Celtic Christian art there are designs where an interlacing line, or complex spiral interlacing, begins 'outside the frame' and after numerous interlacings disappears 'beyond the frame' at another spot—and in this respect is like the Turkish rug that suggests infinity by putting a frame around a segment of infinity.

Finally, there is what can be called the pure or classical form of the infinite pattern in the Christian context. It consists in one line that goes over and under itself, and hence the pattern is a single unit without beginning or end. Moreover, it has no zoomorphic or floramorphic components whatever, and it is not a case of placing a frame around a piece of infinity. We have here a design that, just like the infinite pattern in Islamic art, is perfectly suited to represent and symbolize God's complete infinity, transcendence, and unity. However, it must not be supposed that the Christian infinite pattern is identical with its Islamic counterpart. The classical Islamic pattern is usually linear in form and the resultant figures formed by the interweaving are geometrical in nature—stars, polygons, triangles, etc. The Christian classical pattern, however, is curvilinear in form, full of spirals and curlicues, and the resultant areas formed by the interweavings are not figures in any geometrical sense at all.

There are numerous examples of these variations on the infinite pattern in Christian art, but I will remain content with pointing out representative examples.[8] In the Carndonagh Cross, late sixth century,

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[6] Roger Chauviré, *A Short History of Ireland* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1961), pp. 20-21.

[7] R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, a Handbook* (London: The British Museum, 1968).

[8] Cf. footnotes 5 and 6.

there are abstract spiral interlacings within a stylized cross, though the interlacings do not fit together into a unified whole. In the Book of Durrow, seventh century, the evangelists' symbol of St. Mark and the stylized figure of St. Matthew are both enclosed in a border of spiral interlacings although again they are not examples of a unified infinite pattern. In the famous "Carpet Page" of the Lindisfarne Gospel, late seventh century, there are extremely intricate spiral interlacings with zoomorphic elements on the periphery. The infinite design is present in the sense that the repetition of design, as in an arabesque, suggests infinity. The Latin Gospels written and illuminated by Folchart at the Monastery of St. Gaul, ninth century, has thick covers, the front one of which bears no trace of an infinite pattern, while the back cover, made earlier in south Germany, does exhibit a design which is a zoomorphic, floramorphic variation of the infinite design. [9] In the portrait of John in the Book of Kells (before A.D. 814) there are elegant examples of the pure or classical Christian curvilinear version of the infinite pattern. They are neatly placed inside the four Greek crosses, one on each side of the border. The Cross of Cong, twelfth century, exhibits zoomorphic interlacings, and the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell, twelfth century, has spiral interlacings which put a frame around a portion of infinity by having strands enter on the periphery, intertwine, and exit at another point on the periphery. In the Basin Portable Shrine of Paris, first half of the fourteenth century, there is an example of the classical infinite pattern, [10] and in the "Crowning of Mary" painted by a Florentine master (the latter part of the fourteenth century) one figure holds a Bible with the Christian classical infinite pattern on its cover. [11] In a Carolingian illuminated Sacramentary, possibly done in the Abbey of Saint-Amand about A.D. 860, on the pages beginning with the "Canon of the Mass," there are again examples of the classical curvilinear pattern forming the borders. Tacked on and not an integral part of the design are zoomorphic interlacings in the corners of the borders, and within the letters P and E there are also zoomorphic patterns and zoomorphic endings. [12]

While all of the variations of the Christian infinite pattern are of interest, the one of greatest interest for religious symbolism is the pure curvilinear infinite pattern unencumbered with zoomorphic

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[9] Medieval Collection of the Morgan Library, New York City.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] In the Oskar Reinhart "Am Römerholz" Collection, Winterthur, Switzerland.

[12] William Glazier Collection, G. 57.

additions. Two examples that are particularly interesting in their symbolism are in the Portrait of John in the Book of Kells and the "Crowning of Mary" painted by the Florentine master. The classical infinite pattern was useful Christian symbolism for these artists because the Christian God was also conceived as infinite and transcendent and, in some alleged sense, a unity. However, these artists were geniuses because they domesticated the infinite pattern in the Christian tradition in an even more subtle way than other Christian artists. The Incarnation, an historical occasion, is the central thrust of the Christian tradition, and hence these artists appropriately inscribed the symbols of infinity *within* the four Greek crosses and *within the borders* of the Bible.

The multiusefulness of the infinite pattern for Christian symbolism takes on added interest if one goes beyond the contexts of Latin and Orthodox Christianity and considers its use in monophysitic Christian traditions, of which the Armenian, Coptic, and Syrian Orthodox churches are examples. Monophysitic Christian churches are intermediate in their conceptions of Deity between the mainstream of Christianity and Sunni Islam. In the monophysitic tradition the dual perfect nature of Jesus as man and God combined in one person is rejected, and the divine nature of Christ, one and undivided, is emphasized. It is fascinating to see this view reflected in the symbolism of innumerable Armenian stone crosses where the cross is inscribed *inside* the borders and interior lace work of the infinite pattern. Here the Incarnation takes on a different meaning and is subordinate to the Infinite and Omnipresent Deity.

While the infinite pattern, especially in its pure form, is nicely expressive of the Christian commitment to a theistic God who is infinite and transcendent, it must not be supposed that it uniquely expresses Christian commitments. Just as in Islam, there are Neoplatonic and gnostic interpretations of Christianity. After flowering with John Scotus Eriugena, however, the pantheistic element in Christianity largely went underground and was not institutionalized as it was in some Sufi orders. John Scotus Eriugena, A.D. 847, was born and educated in Ireland and was the philosophical genius of the Celtic Golden Age. Eriugena sought to adapt Christianity to the Plotinian doctrine. The concept of absolute unity was essential for Plotinus. Only that has ultimate Being which is uncreated, unchangeable, unextended, and absolutely unified, without any possibility of variety, change, or multiplicity. The created world emanates from the Godhead and is ultimately reunited with it. According to Eriugena, this absolute unity is God the Father, uncreated and eternal,

unconscious even of itself. As Jesus Christ, the 'Unity' is both created and creates and is self-conscious, while the third person of the Trinity is the manifestation in the finite world of the nature that is created but does not create. The cycle of God's self-expression having become complete, "God turns back to Himself and re-enters into Himself." [13] This pantheistic view of Eriugena has the same origins as that of al-Ḥallāj and Ibn 'Arabī; and just as the linear classical infinite pattern of Islam could be interpreted as a perfect symbol of pantheistic unity in contrast to the traditional Sunni view of a transcendent God who is infinite and absolutely one, the curvilinear classical infinite pattern of Christianity could be interpreted as a perfect symbol of Eriugena's pantheistic unity in contrast to the traditional Christian view of a God who is infinite and absolutely one but nevertheless distinct from his creation.

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While the classical curvilinear infinite pattern and the other versions of the pattern occur not infrequently in Christian art, there can be no doubt that the linear infinite pattern and the other versions of the pattern, including arabesques, play a much more significant role in Islamic art. They do not simply occur frequently, but they are at the very heart of Islamic art. The final question we have to answer, then, is why the infinite pattern and abstract, geometric art in general plays a completely dominant role in Islamic but not in Christian art. The answer has two parts.

When asked to explain why Islamic art is abstract, full of infinite pattern variations, arabesques, and stylized calligraphy, the answer usually given is that the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth prohibit any representational art because of its use in pagan religious ceremonies. This negative answer is partly true, even though it is often exaggerated. Art historians have shown conclusively that there is 'representational' art of a secular sort in Muslim societies even though it is not widespread. [14] In non-Sunni traditions there are even occasional figures of the Prophet. Nevertheless, the so-called 'natural objects' rendered in Persian rugs, Persian miniatures, and Fatimid and Ottoman artifacts, for example, are still highly stylized and would scarcely count as 'realistic' or 'representational' by Western standards. There are no

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[13] Cf. B. A. G. Fuller, *A History of Philosophy*, rev. ed. (New York: Henry Holt, 1945), pp. 364-366.

[14] See, e.g., Grube, *World of Islam*.

Ter Borchs in the Islamic tradition, and the efforts of some art historians legitimately to counter the claim that all Islamic art is abstract must not obscure this fact.

A positive answer is more significant, and it is closely allied with my previous claim that only by abstractions can one hope to symbolize unity in multiplicity, the transcendence of Necessary Being, and to draw attention away from the limited and the historical. While Christianity embraces the concept of transcendent Necessary Being, it concentrates on the central historical event of the Incarnation. When historical events are paramount in a religion, then iconic and figurative art is bound to predominate over abstract art. Islam completely emphasizes the unity in multiplicity of Allāh, and the transcendence of Necessary Being, and does not incorporate any historical event as part of its religious commitment; consequently, the abstract art of infinite patterns, arabesques, and stylized calligraphy in which no individual part of a pattern is emphasized is bound to take the place of iconographic and figurative art.

This point can be extended by comparing the directional, dramatic world view of Christianity with the seriatim, repetitive, and nondramatic perspective of Islam. The advent of Christ is the climax of history for the Christian. Previous centuries set the stage and introduced various players in the Christian drama; what happened after Christ is the unfolding of all that is implied in his Incarnation. There is, however, no climax in the Muslim view of life or history; everything is seen symmetrically, linearly, and cyclically. Again icons and figurative art lend themselves to a dramatic world view, while infinite patterns and arabesques superbly symbolize a nondirectional, nondramatic world that has no special times and places, that has Allāh everywhere at any time and therefore makes all times and places equal in importance. It is no accident, we might add, that theatre art is not only not a prominent Muslim art form but traditionally has been practically nonexistent and that the Islamic genius in poetry has been generally lyrical rather than epic or dramatic.

Finally, the Islamic tradition, in its purest Sunni form, lacks the personal element of Christianity and other Islamic traditions. There is no savior or messiah concept as there is in Christianity, Shi'a Islam, and many of the Sufi brotherhoods, and no intermediary saints that can be appealed to as surrogates of an infinite and transcendent God. Again, the infinite pattern and the arabesques, though used in the other contexts, seem especially Sunni in perspective, for they speak eloquently of no individual, no unit, no person, no historical event but rather of the infinite, transcendent One. Sunni Islam in its purest

form is a lovely and lonely world view; the infinite pattern and the arabesque in their purest forms mirror that world view in a transcendentally beautiful way.

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COSMIC HIERARCHIES IN EARLY ISMĀʿĪLĪ THOUGHT: THE VIEW OF ABŪ YAʿQŪB AL-SIJISTĀNĪ

Perhaps no other doctrine is so characteristic of the Ismāʿīlīs as the notion of hierarchies. While the majority of Muslims have avoided the creation of an authority structure in religious matters, the Ismāʿīlīs have wholeheartedly embraced the idea of hierarchies and have, in several periods of their history, constructed their propaganda and ecclesiastical organizations (the *daʿwa*) on an ascending scheme of religious offices each more powerful and more important than the one below. Likewise, in their view of history, they have seen the course of man's worldly time controlled in cycles each governed by a hierarchy of prophets and imams; and in the higher world, too, they have conceived of yet another series of hierarchical powers. This emphasis appeared early in the history of this sect and continued to be prominent in their doctrine into modern times. The idea of hierarchies was therefore of considerable concern to the early theorists of Ismāʿīlism and in some ways it was consequently the area of their most original work.

While the recovery of texts by early Ismāʿīlī *dāʿīs* (the apologists and propagandists of the sect) has seen a positive renaissance in the past twenty-five years, many features of their doctrines remain poorly understood. It continues, for example, to be almost impossible to find significant information about their origins. Consequently, the works of the second and third generation of Ismāʿīlī scholars, which are now relatively numerous, assume fundamental importance in the reconstruction of early doctrinal history. In fact, from this information, we can begin to examine Ismāʿīlī doctrines on specific points in considerable detail. The utility in this regard of the writings of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, who flourished in the middle of the fourth/tenth century is, therefore, obvious. [1] For Ismāʿīlī literature, this period is

[1] Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī was active in the Ismāʿīlī daʿwa of Iran, most likely basing himself in Sijistan as implied by his *nisba*, throughout the middle of the fourth/tenth century. In his "al-Iftikhār" he mentions the date 361/971 shortly after which he wrote this text; but it is apparently impossible to ascertain the date of his death though it is known to have occurred before the end of the century. A good deal of his writing survives and is currently being sorted and published. The following were consulted in reference to this study: *Ithbāt al-Nubuwwa* (ed. by ʿĀrif Tāmir, Beirut:

the golden age. It covers, in addition to al-Sijistānī, the works of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. *ca.* 322/934), Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 331/942) and Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. after 411/1021). Together these four encompass the most important elements of Ismā'īlī theology. [2]

In this article I should like to concentrate on one such element —that of cosmic hierarchies—for which these four theologians bear major responsibility in the development of Ismā'īlism. For purposes of space and clarity, however, this particular study derives from the writings of al-Sijistānī only as it seems necessary that, faced with the complexity and diversity of early Ismā'īlī doctrines, we should explore the thought of each major figure in isolation before attempting a larger historical summation. It should be understood, however, that much of al-Sijistānī's treatment of this subject in all probability followed closely that of his immediate predecessors in the da'wa.

The Cosmic Connection

> We say that God ... joins things one to the other and makes one of them the conqueror and the other the conquered, one of them the contributor and the other the receiver, one of them the leader and the other the follower, and one of them the apostle and the other the listener. [3]

For him, all things in all realms and in all ways invariably fit into a hierarchical scheme. In the initial section of his long work on the proof of prophecy (*Ithbāt al-Nubuwwa*), he carefully lays the foundation for his discussion of the, to him, vital subject of prophecy by a detailed exposition of a doctrine of *tafāwut* or disparity. [4] In everything, for

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Imprimerie Catholique, 1966), cited as *Ithbāt*; *Tuḥfat al-Mustajībīn* (ed. by Tāmir in his *Khams Rasā'il Ismā'īliyya*, Beirut: Dār al-Inṣāf, 1956, reprinted with some changes in *al-Mashriq*, 1967, pp. 136-146; "al-Iftikhār" (MS, Great Mosque, San'ā', microfilm in Dār al-Kutub, Cairo); "Sullam al-Nājat" (MS, Fyzee Collection, Bombay University Library) cited as "Sullam"; *al-Yanābī'* (ed. by Henry Corbin in his *Trilogie Ismaelienne*, Tehran: Institut Franco-Iranien, 1961, MS in Fyzee Collection); "al-Maqālīd" (MS, Library of Abbas Hamdani); *al-Nuqra* (quotations of this work available in Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī's *al-Riyāḍ*, ed. by Tāmir, Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1960); and *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* (Persian version ed. by Corbin, Tehran: Institut Franco-Iranien, 1949) cited as *Kashf*.

[2] On the writings of these dā'īs, consult W. Ivanow's *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliographical Survey* (Tehran: The Ismaili Society, 1963).

[3] "Iftikhār," f. 60.

[4] *Ithbāt*, pp. 13-48.

him, except God and the Intellect (*al-ʿaql*), there is disparity.[5] Compounds, for example, differ in actions and structures. Their actions result from lower order bodies receiving the influence of higher bodies; and their structures are determined by the varying order of spheres and planets.[6] Among stones, he points out, the red ruby is superior to all; of fusible materials, gold is best; of seed-plants, wheat; of fruit trees, the date palm; of animals, man; and of humans, the messenger-prophet.[7] Even among individual representatives of the best species of a given genus there are those which are higher than the others. Thus all things naturally fall into hierarchies; all things are linked in a structured relationship of superior to inferior. The key to the universe, therefore, according to al-Sijistānī, is the knowledge of each particular thing's proper place in the hierarchies to which it belongs. Because of 'disparity,' "the affairs of the universe (lit. the two worlds) stand in order."[8]

Of the immense numbers of different hierarchies or hierarchical arrangements mentioned and discussed by al-Sijistānī and other Ismāʿīlī writers, the one most formally conceived was that which they called the *ḥudūd* (singular *ḥadd*). The verb *ḥadda* means to delineate or mark off; its noun suggests limit, terminus, degree, or definition. The ḥudūd in Ismāʿīlī thought are the various degrees or demarcation points of authority inherent either in particular religious offices or in an ascending order of spiritual powers.

As mentioned, there are several kinds of hierarchical arrangements and many of them overlap. Sometimes a division like that between the physical (*jismānī*) and the spiritual (*rūḥānī*) or the coarse (*kathīf*) and the fine (*laṭīf*) provides a point of separation of one hierarchical arrangement from another. Yet often two orders lie side by side, and in such cases the name of a member in one may be interchanged with the corresponding member of another. In the context of cosmic hierarchies, there seem to be two parallel yet distinct orders, in the view of al-Sijistānī, which form the most basic and most important elements of the cosmos. To understand his cosmology, therefore, it is necessary to explain these hierarchies. Unfortunately, in some cases he does not speak of them without ambiguity and it is consequently necessary to elaborate on what he does say in many scattered

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-27.

references some of which only vaguely allude to the existence of such separate hierarchies.

In his *Ithbāt* he mentions that the Intellect (which contains no 'disparity') creates (*kawwana*) in two ways (lit. by two motions, *ḥarakatān*): first, by means of the motions of the celestial bodies and, second, through the power of a normative (or legal) order. Every species in the physical (*ṭabī'ī*) world has its coming-to-be (*takwīnuhu*) for the sake of the species above it. This process ends, he maintains, at the level of man and above him there is nothing of superior nobility. Above him there is only a 'normative order' (*siyāsa nāmūsiyya*). [9] In his "Maqālīd" he gives an essential key to an understanding of what constitutes this 'normative order.' There he speaks of "three worlds each of which has ten parts." [10] The first is the world of Nature, which is composed of substance and nine accidents. The second is the world of Soul and is intimately tied to man, whose soul has five external and five internal senses. The third world, which is of greater importance in this context, he calls the world of convention or the normative world (*'ālam al-waḍ'*). In it there are ten ḥudūd: The five which are spiritual are the Two Roots (*aṣlān*), and *jadd*, *fatḥ*, and *khayāl*; and the five which are physical are the *nāṭiq*, the *asās*, the *mutimm*, the *lāḥiq*, and the *janāḥ*. [11] In the *Ithbāt* he states that the normative world is the world of religion (*dīn*). [12] Thus it is clear that in the thought of al-Sijistānī there is, besides the traditional superstructure of Intellect, Soul, Nature, Spheres, Mothers, and Kingdoms of Neoplatonic provenance, a second hierarchy of religious powers whose function is to bring a moral order or a moral direction to creation.

It should be noted here that whereas the 'natural order' of al-Sijistānī is essentially Neoplatonic (with the exception possibly of his doctrine of *al-amr*), [13] his 'moral order' seems to be uniquely Ismā'īlī—at least at the time he was writing. Armstrong, speaking of Plotinus' doctrine of the Logos, notes that certain statements in the *Enneads* seem to suggest that it is the cause of a moral order. [14] Such

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[10] "Maqālīd," p. 102.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[12] *Ithbāt*, p. 77.

[13] On this doctrine, see Paul Walker, "The Ismaili Vocabulary of Creation," *Studia Islamica*, XL (1974), 75-85.

[14] A. H. Armstrong, *The Architecture of the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1940), p. 103.

an idea may have been the point of departure for al-Sijistānī's moral hierarchy, but the difference between the simplicity of Plotinus' notion and the complexity of Ismā'īlī hierarchism is considerable.

The Natural Order

At the top of the natural hierarchy, as well as the moral order, is God. He is really beyond all elements of either hierarchy, though it is to Him as the object of worship and desire that both orient themselves. After God in descending order, there is the Command (amr). It is a somewhat ambiguous principle of Innovation. It is the Word (*kalima*) of the imperative form "be" (*kun*) and has two main aspects. On the one side there is a simple assertion of God's "responsibility" (i.e., for the creation of the world), and on the other side there is the idea of God's ordering or commanding. There must also be in this respect a group of responding subjects attuned to the Command. The first aspect of the amr thus is the origin of the 'natural order,' and the second is the cornerstone of the 'moral order.'

When speaking of the first order, the Neoplatonic philosophers talk of the two which come from an absolute unity: the Intellect which precedes and the Soul which follows. In discussing the moral hierarchy, al-Sijistānī calls this same pair the Two Roots (aṣlān). They can also be represented by the two letters *kāf* and *nūn* of the imperative verb *kun*. Evidence of the close relationship of the two hierarchies at this point can be seen in al-Sijistānī's assertion that to reject his doctrine of the Intellect and the Soul is heresy (*kufr*), a religious and moral transgression. [15]

Al-Sijistānī defines Intellect as "a substance encompassing all things." [16] "It is the thingness of all things." [17] "It resembles the one which is the first of the numbers." [18] He calls it the "Lord of lords," [19] "the First Innovated," [20] "the Preceder," [21] "the Quiescent." [22] It has no 'disparity,' no limit, qualification, motion, transportation, or

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[15] "Iftikhār," f. 21b.

[16] *Yanābī'*, p. 22.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[19] *Ithbāt*, p. 3.

[20] See, for example, the discussion of the fifth *yanbū'* of *al-Yanābī'* (pp. 22-24).

[21] The term *sābiq* appears regularly in al-Sijistānī's writings. It refers to the Intellect ('aql) in its position vis-à-vis the Soul which is called "the Follower" (see below).

[22] "Sākin," "Maqālīd," p. 98.

place,[23] It is called the *bāriz al-haliyya* (the manifestor of existence);[24] and at the level of pure Intellect a thing does not have quantity (*kammiyya*) or quality (*mā'iyya*).[25] The Intellect is always perfect both in potentiality and in actuality.[26] It is one and the same as the amr, at least from its perspective and that of the rest of creation (the amr presumably appears differently from God's vantage).[27] At the purely intellectual level of reality, time does not exist and therefore the Intellect does not think discursively.

In al-Sijistānī's doctrine of the Intellect, there are some curious aspects. In order to relate his cosmology to Islamic tradition, he identifies the Intellect with the Seat (*kursi*),[28] the Pen (*qalam*), the Decree (*qaḍā'*), and the Sun (*shams*),[29] all of which are Qur'anic terms. It is true, for example, that in keeping with Neoplatonic tradition, he calls the *sābiq* (i.e., Intellect) "source of all light."[30] Such a metaphor is a good example of his blending an Islamic tradition with a Neoplatonic idea.[31] In another place he has a chapter on the faculties (or powers) of intellect. There he mentions eternity, truth, bliss, proof, life, perfection, and self-sufficiency.[32]

In general the *'aql* of al-Sijistānī's scheme is remarkably similar to the *nous* of Plotinus, and many noetic doctrines characteristic of the thought of his less Plotinian contemporaries, like the notion of the "active intellect" (*al-'aql al-fa"āl*), which seem to have come into

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[23] "Sullam," f. 4b.

[24] *Yanābī'*, p. 82.

[25] See the first four sections of the first *Maqāla* of *Ithbāt*.

[26] See for example, *Ithbāt*, p. 145.

[27] See especially *yanbū'* 2 of *al-Yanābī'*.

[28] *Kursi* is used to refer to Intellect when *'arsh* (throne) is used for the soul (see "Iftikhār," f. 20a).

[29] "Iftikhār," f. 20a.

[30] "He made the sābiq source of all light both physical and spiritual"; *Ithbāt*, p. 3.

[31] The terms seat, pen, decree, and sun had important usage in religious practice and tradition. Al-Sijistānī found a place for them in his theology without doing great damage to his philosophy. Such terms are not to be taken literally, however.

[32] The Arabic terms are *dahr*, *ḥaqq*, *surūr*, *burhān*, *ḥayāt*, *kamāl*, and *ghayba* (or *ghunya* or *'ayniyya*); *Yanābī'*, pp. 41 f. The last of these has been read غَيبة, absence, by the editor Corbin who notes, however, the possible variant غَنية, sufficiency. In the Bombay manuscript, the scribe, obviously in doubt, has written عسة which might be read عَينية, a rare word, meaning identity. This last possibility seems to me to make more sense, though the Arabic term itself would be somewhat unusual. Under the circumstances, the best reading is probably "ghunya."

Arabic philosophy from Alexander of Aphrodisias, do not find expression in his writings. [33]

Al-Sijistānī's Intellect is completely perfect. He even says of it that it has no moral or normative action in and of itself. [34] Creation itself does not involve the introduction of good and evil and therefore at the level of pure Intellect, where things are what they are and cannot be otherwise, there is no moral dilemma or choice. It is the next stage of existence, according to al-Sijistānī, which reveals the first imperfections and consequently introduces the problem of good and evil.

The next hypostasis, sometimes called the Follower (*tālī*) or the Second (*thānī*), is vastly more complex than Intellect. Soul in a real sense encompasses all creation. It proceeds (*inba'atha*) from Intellect as its double when Intellect turns to regard its own essence. [35] But Soul is not perfect nor complete. It is removed from Intellect, and because of this separation it is perfect only in potential but not in actuality. [36] It seeks to grasp the whole of Intellect but cannot, and it must therefore "study" this higher thing which it cannot know all at once. For this reason Soul is called *mustafīd* (the one seeking instruction) and the Intellect is called *mufīd* (the instructor). [37]

Soul thus belongs to a new and different plane of existence. Because it is complex, it is harder to describe. Al-Sijistānī calls it "an eternally movable substance" and such a definition, he suggests, is generally agreed upon. [38] Movement thus is one of its chief characteristics; its substance must be unlimited. [39] Its individual actions have only a specific duration (as opposed to an eternity). Thus, here time is born as a measure of duration. [40]

In several places al-Sijistānī tries to list the faculties of Soul; once

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[33] Cf. the writings of al-Fārābī. Because Neoplatonism was for some a philosophy (even in classical times) which attempted to reconcile and eliminate all apparent differences between Plato and Aristotle, there was a constant attempt to fuse everything together. Nevertheless, there are clearly discernible differences among the early tenth-century Islamic philosophers which show that some favored doctrines derived from the Aristotelian commentators and others leaned towards the Plotinian ideas of works like the *Theologia*.

[34] "Maqālīd," p. 81. Cf. *yanbū'* 25 of *al-Yanābī'*, pp. 61-63.

[35] "Maqālīd," p. 32, "*kāna* [*al-'aqlu*] *'illata zawjihi 'inda nazarihi ilā dhātihi.*"

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 106; *Ithbāt*, pp. 18, 145.

[37] *Ithbāt*, p. 18; "Maqālīd," pp. 21, 81.

[38] "Maqālīd," p. 98; cf. p. 21.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 125; on divisions of time, see "Sullam," f. 14a.

he speaks of the world of the Soul. [41] As with Intellect he also identifies Soul with several Qur'anic terms. It is the Throne, the Tablet, the *qadar*, and the Moon, all of which are terms he uses in particular to emphasize the subservient relationship of Soul to Intellect. [42] Analogous to his description of Intellect as "manifestor of existence," he calls Soul "manifestor of essence." [43] He speaks of the well-known five external senses and, in addition, of five internal senses of the human soul. [44] In two places he mentions five faculties of the Soul without specifying the human soul. [45] For al-Sijistānī the human soul is part of Universal Soul. In a chapter of his *Yanābīʿ* entitled "That what is in the human is a part and a substance of Universal Soul," he states clearly that

> ... we know and we are certain that what is in him (man) in the way of soul is a part of Universal Soul—not a trace (*athar*) as claimed by those with no discernment or knowledge. [46]

The reference here to Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's doctrine of human soul is unmistakable. Al-Rāzī, an earlier dogmatist of Ismāʿīlism, had said that human soul was a trace (athar) of higher Soul. In fact al-Sijistānī's whole notion of Soul's defectiveness was also a rejection of one of al-Rāzī's positions on the Soul. [47] In his *Yanābīʿ*, as he had in his earliest work, the *Nuṣra*, he stresses Soul's thoughtlessness and its tendency to cling to things lower than itself. "It is forgetful ...," he says. [48] But at the same time, the Soul receives a warning by the Intellect against lower things and conceives thus a desire for the higher. Hence there is a paradox in the character of the Soul which results in its being both creator and container of Nature, its own lower half.

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[41] "Maqālīd," p. 102.

[42] "Iftikhār," f. 19b.

[43] "*bāriz al-mā'iyya*"; *Yanābīʿ*, p. 82.

[44] The five internal senses are *al-fikr, al-khāṭir, al-dhihn, al-ʿaql* and *al-ḥifẓ*; "Maqālīd," p. 102.

[45] The five faculties (*quwā*) of the soul are said to be *fikra, khāṭir, dhihn, rawiyya*, and *dhikr*; "Maqālīd," p. 10. However, in *Ithbāt* (p. 46) he refers to faculties which are *al-mufakkira, al-mudhakkira, al-ḥāssa, al-ḥāfiẓa, al-muṣawwira*, respectively. Since the context of the two remarks is different, they may refer to slightly different aspects of Soul.

[46] *Yanābīʿ*, p. 46.

[47] This point had been discussed in considerable detail in al-Sijistānī's *Nuṣra*.

[48] *Yanābīʿ*, p. 33.

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In Plotinian thought there are several difficulties in understanding the relationship of what is properly called Soul (*psychē*) and what is called Nature (*physis*). Likewise for al-Sijistānī there were difficulties. The importance of this problem shows clearly in the question of whether there can be two (and only two) radically distinct words which divide on the line between Nature and Universal Soul (a doctrine held by several early Ismā'īlī writers). Some sense of al-Sijistānī's notion of the creation of Nature may help clarify this attitude to this problem. He says:

> ... when the Soul proceeded from the Intellect, it saw that its rising to the rank (ḥadd) of the First would occur by two faculties ... i.e., Reason and Holiness. One of them, Motion, is its desire and it is Reason; and the other, Quiescence, by which it obtains intellectual benefits, is Holiness. But their appearance is impossible without the outpouring of Nature from it. Thus Nature poured out of it by means of two effects (*atharān*). One of them is Motion and it is Primal Matter; and the other is Quiescence and it is Form. And the Soul knew that the appearance of forms accepting reason and holiness cannot come-to-be without two similar faculties which are growth and sense. Sense is for motion and growth is for quiescence and so it gave them to Nature. [49]

In this passage al-Sijistānī shows that of four parts of Soul (i.e., reason, holiness, growth and sense) two represent a higher aspect and two a lower. Soul gives the latter to Nature. Nevertheless, all four have some interdependence.

Nature itself is the world of substance and nine accidents. [50] "Its actions happen through chance." [51] It is the first stage of the non-spiritual; it is not of the *rūḥāniyyūn*. It is described by al-Sijistānī as "narrow in substance." [52] (One might perhaps explain this phrase by suggesting a more Platonic idea: it is 'lacking in reality.') He explains that Nature must come into being in order for Soul to begin to work just as a carpenter must have wood before he can exercise

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[49] *Ithbāt*, p. 44. Read *bi-inbijāsi 'l-ṭabī'ati* in line 20 instead of *bi'l-inbijāsi 'l-ṭabī'iyyati*. (Correction suggested by Prof. Wilferd Madelung.)

[50] "Maqālīd," p. 102. This is an idea taken from the Greeks.

[51] They are *bakhtiyya*; "Maqālīd," p. 123.

[52] "Maqālīd," pp. 149-150.

the craft by which he is known. In this context he calls Nature "intellectual benefits incarnate." [53]

Nature is the combination of Form and Matter. [54] In one place al-Sijistānī speaks of the four pillars by which Nature is supported. They are fire, air, water, and earth and they are thus the source of physical (bodily) beings. [55] Within this physical world, the spheres (*aflāk*) come into being. With the spheres the stage of body and place begins. Thus all body and all that can be said to be in a place is within the world of the spheres. [56] The motion of the whole, however, is not in a place. That means that it is not equivalent to the motion of the heavens, but is connected to Soul which is above the spheres in comprehensiveness (*bi'l-iḥāṭa*) rather than in place (*bi'l-makān*). [57] The spheres number exactly seven which is a crucial fact for the parallel value of the seven divine letters and the seven *nuṭaqā* (speaking-prophets). [58]

Al-Sijistānī calls the spheres the fathers [59] because of their relationship to the subsequent lower stage of reality called the mothers, i.e., the four elements earth, water, air, and fire. Fire reaches up to the horizon of the spheres. [60] The fathers, however, are clearly above the mothers spacially. [61] The spheres do not have opposite motions; the mothers do. [62] The fathers' influence on the mothers produces offspring (*mawālīd*), and these are the kingdoms of minerals, vegetables and animals. They are, in sum, the whole of the earthly, physical world. [63]

The natural order thus consists of a descending hierarchy beginning with God. It includes the amr, the Intellect, the Soul, Nature, the Spheres, the Elements and finally the Kingdoms (which are arranged

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[53] *Al-fawā'id al-'aqliyya al-mujassama*, see the thirty-third *iqlīd* of "Maqālīd" (pp. 119-122). The word *fawā'id* means something like benefits, advantages, or useful things. In this context it is well to remember that the intellect is called al-mufīd and the soul al-mustafīd; in other words, the soul seeks the fawā'id and passes them on to nature where they enter the bodily state.

[54] "Maqālīd," pp. 32, 94.

[55] *Yanābī'*, p. 9.

[56] More properly the world of the *tarākīb*. See "Maqālīd," p. 32, or more precisely, p. 215.

[57] See *Ithbāt*, p. 128, and *Yanābī'*, p. 50. On the *ḥarakatu 'l-kull* see "Maqālīd," p. 153.

[58] "Iftikhār," f. 36a.

[59] *Kashf*, p. 52.

[60] "Maqālīd," p. 216. The fire which is in the "horizon of the spheres" al-Sijistānī calls *athīr* (ether); "Iftikhār," fs. 38a and b.

[61] "Maqālīd," p. 151.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

ascendingly from mineral through vegetable to animal). There is unfortunately no visual image appropriate to this because the principle of ascension and descension is different at each level. Basically, al-Sijistānī would say that the higher is simpler than the lower, or that it is more subtle and more noble than the lower which is coarse (the laṭīf-kathīf distinction mentioned above). Ascending is to become "wider or more encompassing in substance" (more 'real'); descending is to become "narrower in substance" (less 'real'). Intellect, he says, is "the most encompassing of creatures in substance." [64]

The Normative Order

Turning now to the normative order, one senses quickly that with regard to this hierarchy al-Sijistānī has left the more familiar area of traditional Neoplatonic speculation and entered another realm. It is much more difficult to understand the fine points of his discussion of the 'ālam al-waḍ' because it seems to be part of that unexplored territory of Ismā'īlī doctrine which is peculiar to them and which they have little desire to clarify for outsiders. [65]

The basic elements of this hierarchy can be found in pre-Fatimid Ismā'īlī theology. It consists of the Two Roots (aṣlān), and jadd, fatḥ, khayāl, the seven divine letters, the nāṭiq, the asās, the imām, and two lower orders. It is clearly a very old Ismā'īlī doctrine and thus for al-Sijistānī, as an Ismā'īlī, it was an area of doctrine in which there could be little flexibility. It was necessary to bring these doctrines into line with those he inherited from the philosophers and to harmonize the normative hierarchy with the natural order. The solution proposed in his writings is ingenious, and by the apparent harmony thus afforded between philosophy and traditional Ismā'īlism, he brought Ismā'īlī doctrines to a relatively high level of intellectual sophistication. Unfortunately, while much of what is now known of this system comes from the writings of al-Sijistānī, it is hard to say exactly how much of it originated with him. [66]

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[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150, *awsa'u 'l-khalā'iq jawharan.*

[65] The *'ālam al-waḍ'* is not simply the *'ālam al-basīṭ* (world of the simple). All spiritual things belong to the latter but in such a concept there is not necessarily any idea of a moral order. See al-Sijistānī's discussion of the 'ālam al-basīṭ, "Maqālīd," p. 162. Unlike the natural hierarchy which al-Sijistānī mentions often and discusses in great detail, the moral order is less distinct. His "Iftikhār" obviously deals with the individual parts of this hierarchy but not the moral order itself as a whole.

[66] Clearly the elements of this hierarchy pre-date al-Sijistānī. But possibly his

The origin of the normative order lies in the Word or the Logos of God. Its role as the principle of creation I have explained previously, [67] and here it is rather the idea of command or the amr which has the greater importance. God's Word is a command, an imperative, and a normative prescription.

As witnessed by things, the Word is the Intellect and its mate the Soul. Symbolically (for al-Sijistānī a symbol is par excellence a letter of the alphabet) the Word is the Arabic imperative verb "kun." It has two letters which are symbols for the Two Roots although the non-symbolic reality of these two is the pair Intellect and Soul.

As in the natural hierarchy where Nature follows the First and the Second, so too in the normative order three (corresponding to the three dimensions of Nature) follows two. Here the three are the jadd, the fatḥ, and the khayāl. [68] But with them the two hierarchies seem to part ways. These three spiritual beings are special graces which bestow certain gifts upon the speaker-prophets (nuṭaqā) of sacred human history. They are the bridge which crosses the gap between the higher world and certain chosen souls of the lower world. They bring the benefits of the Intellect and the Soul directly to each of the prophets.

Al-Sijistānī describes jadd by using the analogy of *bakht* (luck). As luck can raise its fortunate recipient to wealth and high position, even to kingship, so likewise jadd is the grace which raises a certain chosen "pure soul" (*nafs zakiyya*) to spiritual wealth and to religious kingship. [69] But the virtues of this spiritual monarch cannot be completed with wealth and position alone. He must also be a "seer" or a "knower." He must have a complete, intuitive grasp of how things are (literally, he must be able to put everything in its proper place). The grace for this intuition is supplied by the Opening (fatḥ). With it the spiritual monarch can, in our phrase, penetrate at once to the 'heart of the matter,' and in al-Sijistānī's language the matter will devolve at once upon his heart. [70]

One more virtue is necessary in order to secure this stage of the normative order. Because the spiritual king is mortal, his death will

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attempt to link them side by side with the natural hierarchy of Neoplatonism may be his own contribution, though it may also go back to someone like al-Nasafī.

[67] See Walker, *Studia Islamica*, XL (1974), 75-85.

[68] See the fourth *bāb* of "Iftikhār" (fs. 22b-25b), which is entitled "*fī ma'rifat 'l-jadd wa'l-fatḥ wa'l-khayāl.*" See also *Ithbāt*, pp. 60-61, 189-190, and *Tuḥfat al-Mustajībīn*.

[69] "Iftikhār," f. 23a.

[70] *Ibid.*, f. 24a.

bring the end of the order he represents unless he has yet another grace which allows him to foresee and thus to provide for its continuation. This gift is called Prophetic Vision (khayāl) and by means of it the spiritual monarch finds a minister in whom proper authority can reside after his own death. This gift in turn will pass after the death of the minister to the minister's descendants. Thus the estate and testament of the spiritual sovereign will be complete and will remain intact. [71]

Below these three graces, there is yet another group of spiritual beings. Corresponding to the seven spheres, there are seven divine letters. In medieval and ancient times, there was a certain awe engendered by the alphabet of the written language. Where did it come from? This question caused speculations about the nature of language and of thought. If thought belonged to a divine realm (the world of the Intellect), then language (especially the symbols of language) which express thoughts must also be divine. Hence it was thought that letters had an origin of divine nature. The idea of holy scripture further stimulated this train of thought and promoted speculations about the origin of holy writing (the script). The Qur'ān, for example, was a divine moral and legal communication, and the letters of its script are therefore the symbols of such messages. Al-Sijistānī notes a tradition which states that the Qur'ān "was revealed in seven letters." [72] These seven letters were, at least for the Ismā'īlīs, *kāf*, *wāw*, *nūn*, *yā*, *qāf*, *dāl*, and *rā* which form the words *kūnī qadar*. [73] These are the seven divine letters "by which there gush forth from the Two Roots psychic symbols and mental words." [74] They are the "treasury of speech." [75] By means of them, "spiritual forms" come into being, just as by means of the spheres, bodily forms come into being. [76]

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[71] *Ibid.*, fs. 24b and 25a.

[72] *Ibid.*, fs. 29b-30a.

[73] See chapter four. The fifth *bāb* of "Iftikhār" is about the Seven Divine Letters. Since al-Sijistānī does not mention the seven letters in his list for the *'ālam al-waḍ'* ("Maqālīd," p. 103), it may be that they were not considered as separate angelic beings. In one place ("Maqālīd," p. 70), he seems to suggest that the Seven Letters are gathered in the Intellect. In another passage ("Iftikhār," f. 78a), he calls them intellectual emanations (*ifāḍāt 'aqliyya*).

[74] ... *bihā tanbajisu min al-aṣlayn rumūzāt nafsiyya wa kalimāt 'aqliyya*; "Iftikhār," f. 25b.

[75] *Khazā'in al-kalām*; "Iftikhār," f. 25b.

[76] *Yanābi'*, p. 18. He stresses the correspondence of the number seven in the letters and the planets.

Thus spiritual 'law' has a language. The stage is set for the role of a legislator-prophet—an earthly monarch of the soul—and here begins the physical half of the normative hierarchy. Al-Sijistānī says in one passage that there are five lower parts to this order, i.e., nāṭiq, asās, mutimm, lāḥiq, and janāḥ, [77] but in another he mentions nine (*al-tis'a al-sufliyya*), i.e., nāṭiq, asās, and seven mutimms (imāms). [78] The apparent conflict may not be important because the former list is a vertical arrangement and the second seems to be horizontal and temporally sequential. In either case, there were to be only seven imāms corresponding to the seven divisions in quantity of bodily substance. [79]

The first two members of this earthly order were called the two founders or foundations (asāsān). They are described as a bodily repetition of the Two Roots (aṣlān) in this physical world. [80] The Three of the spiritual world, therefore, are "intermediaries between the simple *kun* and the compounded (or mixed) *kun*." [81]

The nāṭiq occupies the supreme rank in terrestrial hierarchy. There are exactly seven of these, arranged chronologically. Because each nāṭiq acts in a temporal world, and since time in the terrestrial world is a function of heavenly motion, there must be seven chiefs of the religious order corresponding to the seven lords of the heavens. [82] Significantly, the seven nāṭiqs parallel also the seven divine letters. Each nāṭiq adds one more letter toward the goal of revealing the whole of the divine message and the perfection of the normative order. [83]

The next stage in this hierarchy concerns the worldly problem of preserving and promulgating the law which the nāṭiq has established. It is not enough merely to legislate because for all the authority inherent in the text of the law, its meaning depends upon interpretation. The nāṭiq naturally is responsible for explaining his own composition and does so while living. After death, however, he must pass on this responsibility to someone else who, like him, can correctly interpret the law. This person, called *al-waṣī* (executor), in effect

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[77] "Maqālid," p. 103, see note 11 above.

[78] *Yanābi'*, p. 92. It is not always clear whether he is counting offices in the hierarchies or persons who hold them.

[79] ... *kammiyyatu maqādīri 'l-jawāhiri 'l-mutajassima*; "Iftikhār," f. 55b.

[80] "Iftikhār," fs. 18 a and b.

[81] I.e., jadd, fatḥ and khayāl are intermediaries between the Word (kun) in the higher world and its repetition on earth; "Iftikhār," fs. 18a and b.

[82] "Iftikhār," f. 36a.

[83] *Tuḥfat al-Mustajībīn*, and "Iftikhār," fs. 25b-33a.

"establishes" the proper interpretation of the law and is therefore also called al-asās (the foundation). He employs *ta'wīl* (hermeneutics) only and cannot legislate. [84]

Below the waṣī, as mentioned, there is the rank of imām and below this (according to the list given in some places) there are two less important grades. The imām has the primary function of preserving the moral order as established by the nāṭiq and his waṣī. He is, in a sense, the caretaker (especially of the ta'wīl) of the religion bequeathed to him by the nāṭiq of his era, and it is this role which he passes on to his progeny. [85]

The two lesser ranks are not very clearly described by al-Sijistānī, and it is consequently harder to understand what functions theoretically belong to them. In any case, for the purposes of this study an exact explanation of their role would not significantly add to an appreciation of the overall notion of cosmological hierarchies.

Thus in sum there are, for al-Sijistānī, two hierarchies by which the universe is created and held in place. The one, called here the natural order, is essentially Neoplatonic, and an examination of it reveals little that is surprising. On the other hand the normative order, standing side by side with the former, is apparently new to Neoplatonism. It arises as a result of al-Sijistānī's Ismā'īlī origins, his concern for a rational theory of prophecy and the Ismā'īlī tradition of ecclesiastical hierarchism. Nevertheless, both orders blend well together and al-Sijistānī's Neoplatonic cosmological conceptions seem at home in the kind of intellectual Ismā'īlism which he espoused.

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[84] See, for example, "Iftikhār," f. 50a.

[85] See, for example, "Iftikhār," f. 49b, where the emphasis is on preservation (*ḥifẓ*).

ABŪ 'L-BAQĀ' AL-RUNDĪ AND HIS ELEGY ON MUSLIM SPAIN

Abū'l-Baqā' Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī was a Spanish Muslim who lived during the thirteenth century. According to M. Casiri, [1] he was born in 60/1204 and died in 684/1285. As indicated by his name, he was a native of the Andalusian town of Ronda, about forty miles to the west of Malaga. Very little is known of his life, [2] beyond the fact that he was a poet and a literary critic, as witnessed by his surviving works. Although al-Maqqarī [3] refers to him as one of the most celebrated literary figures of al-Andalus, he gives no information about his career or the date of his death, merely citing some of his works. Although at least one standard work [4] states that al-Rundī lived during the ninth century of the Hijra and died at the beginning of the sixteenth Christian century, this is clearly erroneous in view of al-Rundī's mentioning three men [5] as his contemporaries, all of whom are known to have died in the seventh century of the Hijra/thirteenth century.

Al-Rundī's surviving literary productions include a work of literary criticism (*al-Wāfī fī Naẓm al-Qawāfī*), [6] a poem on the rules of succession in Islam (*Urjūza fī'l-Farā'iḍ*), [7] and at least two other

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[1] *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis*, I (Madrid: Antonius Perez de Soto, 1760-1770), 379. This date is followed by H. P. J. Renaud in his article "Additions et Corrections à Suter 'Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber,'" *Isis*, XVIII (1932), 178, and by C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Supp. I-III, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937-1939), Supp. I, 860.

[2] See A. Benhamouda, "Al-Wāfī fī Naẓm al-Ḳawāfī d'Abū-l-Baḳā' B. Šarīf Al-Rundī," *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes* (Cairo, 1935-45), p. 192.

[3] *Analectes sur l'Histoire et la Littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy and others (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1855-61), II, 780-784.

[4] *Sharḥ Majānī al-Adab fī Ḥadā'iq al-'Arab*, II (Beirut, 1888), 853.

[5] Al-Haytham al-Ishbīlī (died A.H. 630), Ibrahīm b. Sahl al-Islāmī (died A.H. 645 or 649) and Riḍwān b. Khālid al-Malaqī (died A.H. 641 or 642). See Benhamouda, "Al-Wāfī," *Mélanges*, p. 192.

[6] For an analysis of the contents of this work and a brief description of its MSS, see *ibid.*, pp. 190 f. The text of *Al-Wāfī* also occurs in MS Leiden 288 (see Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, Supp. II, 925).

[7] This work survives in MSS Escurial 943 and 954 (see Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, Supp. I, 860). A commentary on this *Urjūza* was composed by al-Qalaṣādī (cf. al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, I, 935; Renaud, "Additions et Corrections," 178).

poems, including a *qaṣīda* rhyming in *rā'* [8] and his elegy in *basīṭ* metre on Muslim Spain (*al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya fī rithā' al-Andalus*). This elegy consists of forty-two verses rhyming in *nūn*, and treats of the vanished glories of Islam, which by the time the poet wrote had been reduced to the small area of the state of Granada. The poem must have been written at some time between 1248, the date of the fall of Seville, an event which is mentioned in the poem, and 1285, the date of the poet's death. The strong emotion expressed in the elegy suggests that it was composed under the immediate impression of the catastrophic events described, and this indicates that it was written not very long after the middle of the thirteenth century.

Al-Rundī handles his theme after the manner of the *ubi sunt* motif to be found in some books of the Old Testament, [9] the Qur'ān [10] and eslewhere in mediaeval literature. [11] The poem commences by asking where are the ancient glories of 'Ād, Shaddād, Darius, Sasān and other ancient heroes, and continues in the same vein by posing the same question of Játiva, Jaén and Cordova. The poet then addresses an appeal to the squabbling Muslim rulers of the Maghrib to save Spain for the Arabs, and concludes with a pathetic description of the enslavement of the Muslims by their conquerors.

Ahmed Benhamouda has pointed out that several verses of the elegy show resemblances with phrases to be found in a poem of Abū'l-Fatḥ al-Bustī (A.D. 971-1010), suggesting that this latter may in fact have provided al-Rundī's inspiration. [12]

The text of this elegy was first published in 1828 in the *Anthologie Arabe* of M. Grangeret de Lagrange, who also provided a translation into French. [13] Lagrange took the text of the poem from al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*. The text of the poem has been printed several times since Lagrange's edition. [14]

Some centuries after al-Rundī's death, further *abyāt* were added to his elegy by other hands to include the misfortunes associated with the fall of Granada and other cities, and the final loss of Spain. This seems to have led to its being falsely ascribed to other poets. For example, Sharīf al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Khafājī (died 1657) in his *Rayḥānat al-Alibbā' wa-Zahrat Ḥayāt al-Dunyā* attributes the elegy

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[8] The text of this poem is published in al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, II, 782-784.

[9] E.g., Isaiah XXXVII, 13; Zechariah I, 5.

[10] E.g., S. 19: 98.

[11] E.g., the Old English poem *The Wanderer*, lines 91 ff.

[12] Benhamouda, "Al-Wāfī," *Mélanges*, pp. 194-195.

[13] Paris, 1828, pp. 141-149.

[14] See Benhamouda, "Al-Wāfī," *Mélanges*, p. 193.

distinguished by architectural differences. While the Yürük homes are small, closely spaced, one-story adobe structures, the Georgian dwellings are large, two-story structures located on large plots and constructed of red brick which the Georgians made in their own brick ovens. One Georgian home has the date of its construction —1302 A.H./1884-1885—inscribed over its entrance. These architectural differences also reflect the greater proclivity on the part of the Georgians to maintain large extended families over multiple generations.

Although both Yürüks and Georgians are Sunni Muslims, each quarter had its own mosque and *imam* prior to 1955, and as a result religious gatherings were ethnically separate. Prior to the 1950s it is estimated that there were about ninety to one hundred Georgian and seventy to seventy-five Yürük households. Since then the number of Georgians has diminished greatly, and as a consequence both people have decided to share the same mosque.

Located on the dividing road in the center of the village is a small general store owned and operated by a Georgian, but patronized by both Georgians and Yürüks. In addition to providing a focal point for interethnic commercial activity, it functions as an informal gathering place for men of the village. During the slack farming seasons one can always find a group of men either sitting in the store or in the neighboring tea house drinking tea and discussing village affairs or other matters of interest.

A similar focal point for the children of the village is the two-room primary school (grades 1-5) also located near the village's center. In it both Georgian and Yürük children receive instruction in Turkish from a teacher appointed and salaried by the central government. The use of Georgian is prohibited in the classroom.

Kinship

The traditional Georgian and Yürük kinship systems are similar in a number of respects. For both, the traditionally ideal household is agnatically extended and patriarchal, being typified by male dominance, deference to elders, and the subservience of women. Georgians and Yürüks stress the patriline for purposes of descent and inheritance. Although their common religion—Sunni Islam—permits polygyny, its actual frequency is very low.

However, the marriage preferences and prohibitions of these two peoples are quite different. While Georgians prefer to marry Georgians, they strictly prohibit marriage between bilateral first cousins, and

A few years later the people voluntarily built their own school near the center of the village, which is still in use.

Recent Developments

Events in the nearby town of Susurluk have had an important impact on Mana. In the early 1950s Susurluk was selected by the government as the site of a large sugar beet refinery, and construction on this facility began in 1954. Many Georgians found employment as the demand for local construction workers was great. Once the refinery began operations in 1955, it directly and indirectly created numerous wage-paying jobs which attracted thousands of peasants to town. As a result, the population of Susurluk quickly doubled to about 11,000 and the demand for housing was unprecedented.

The Georgian builders helped meet this demand by forming private construction companies which experienced great success. As they became established occupationally, they moved their families to town and took up permanent residence there. Today there are about thirty to thirty-five Georgian households in Susurluk. Most of them are located in New Quarter, a section of town built up since 1954. They have their own coffee house where elderly males meet and converse in their mother tongue.

It is estimated that since 1954 about thirty other Georgian families left the village to settle in the large cities of Istanbul, Izmir, and Bursa. Today there are only about thirty Georgian households left in Mana. By contrast most Yürüks have remained in the village, being satisfied with their way of life, and deriving a reasonable livelihood from animal husbandry. In 1965 the total population of the village was 610.

Assimilation

The degree to which the Georgians of Mana have been absorbed into the culture and society of Turkey can be described as high. An assessment of this assimilation requires the consideration of several factors.

Probably the most important of these lies on the level of values and religious identification. Being pious Muslims, the immigrant Georgians share with the Turks the same moral code or constellation of socio-cultural values which is embodied in their common religion. They are both members of a Muslim brotherhood and accept the same Islamic criteria for the evaluation of life. This facilitates mutual

MT. HOLYOKE'S IMPACT ON THE LAND OF MT. ARARAT

Schools directed by American missionary educators have functioned in Turkey since the early 1830s. Originally, they were the products of the enthusiasm which the Second Great Awakening generated in New England coupled with a new commitment to disseminate opportunities for learning as a result of the great acceleration of the academy movement that occurred after 1825. Almost from the start of their efforts in the Ottoman Empire, however, the representatives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions tried to open girls' as well as boys' schools. In fact, they were the pioneers of education for women in the Middle East. They got their inspiration from Mary Lyon's work which had established the Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary in South Hadley, Massachusetts, in 1836. It was the Mt. Holyoke concept of the proper preparation of young women for life that was transplanted to the soil of Anatolia, often by graduates of the South Hadley school. The saga of how this was done is one of the most interesting examples of international education in the nineteenth century.

All of the educational programs for girls and women begun in Turkey by American Board personnel trace their lineage to developments in America beginning in 1814. In that year, Emma Hart Willard, the wife of a struggling physician, returned to teaching, which had earlier been her employment at Berlin, Connecticut. Now she established a girls' boarding school at Middlebury, Vermont, which was later moved to Waterford, New York. The originality of Mrs. Willard's school was that she had worked out an academic program that was specifically designed for women, rather than just a simplified syllabus based on a curriculum intended for men. Her seminary was relocated at Troy, New York, in 1821 where it soon developed into an important center for training teachers. Another similar institution, the Hartford Female Seminary, was soon opened in Connecticut by Catherine Beecher.

After this chain of events, a Female Seminary at Ipswich, Massachusetts, was begun by Mrs. Zilpah Grant in 1828. Mary Lyon, the founder of Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary, was Mrs. Grant's close collaborator in this new venture. Its direct linkage with developments in Turkey is shown by the fact that Mrs. Benjamin Schneider, who opened schools for women at Bursa and Aintab, Turkey, had been a

student at the Ipswich Academy. Miss Lyon had visited Mrs. Willard's seminary in Troy when she was preparing to help inaugurate the school at Ipswich. Much of her own preparation, however, she received from the Reverend Joseph Emerson who taught her at Byfield, Massachusetts. Emerson had three academic commitments which also characterized the programs that Mary Lyon devised and were transferred to those later begun in Turkey.

Joseph Emerson placed his primary emphasis on the study of language, the English vernacular of his students. He wanted them to comprehend what they read and to possess rich vocabularies. In comparison with this basic objective, the classical study of Greek and Latin was of secondary importance. As a result, his students read Cowper, Goldsmith, Gray, Milton, and Pope, authors who were seldom accorded this central place in the curriculum. [1] Emerson also worked out a sequential program of studies, setting the times when his students would be allowed to enter or leave the school. An important aspect of almost all the academies for girls before his time was what were then known as the "ornamentals." These nonacademic subjects were thought to provide polish and refinement to young ladies. They were separately listed in most of the school advertisements or catalogues and required the payment of extra fees in addition to the regular tuition. Dancing, drawing, embroidery, plain and ornamental needlework, piano, and the French tongue which was then fashionable, were among the "ornamentals." Emerson abandoned the "ornamentals" concept at the Wethersfield Female Seminary in Connecticut, which he later directed. He taught his students some of these studies at no extra charge and eliminated others. These same policies were adopted at Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary and they also became standard features of the girls' schools in Turkey. [2]

The early discipline and instructional program at Mt. Holyoke anticipated much that made up the female seminaries sponsored by the American Board in Turkey. Biblical studies and religious exercises were stressed, with Miss Lyon often personally presiding and offering spiritual advice. Her students were expected to exhibit self-control and practice rigid economy, even in the smallest matters. Every year, the Mt. Holyoke girls self-classified themselves according to their present state of religious "grace." Domestic work (not manual labor!) occupied an hour and a half of each day. Every Monday was a

[1] Beth Bradford Gilchrist, *The Life of Mary Lyon* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910), pp. 69-75.

[2] Nicholas D. Colucci, "Connecticut Academies for Females, 1800-1865" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Connecticut, Storrs, 1969), p. 23.

However, Mt. Holyoke believed in intellectual excellence, and a high premium was always placed on rigorous examinations. Every spring the girls' progress was demonstrated to the community by public oral examinations. The Seminary also followed the tradition of staffing its faculty with the most promising of its own graduates, a system that was readily adopted in its daughter schools in Turkey. Of course, these new teachers got only meager pay, but then Mary Lyon, herself, never earned more than $200 a year in addition to her room and board.

Miss Lyon's original objective had been to enlighten and evangelize the western frontier. She caught the zeal for foreign missions only later, but once she was enthused, she loyally supported the American Board. Every month prayers for the salvation of the world rose in 'concert' from the South Hadley Church adjoining the Seminary campus. Saturdays found the Mt. Holyoke girls studying about the foreign mission fields, and they were frequently addressed by Dr. Rufus Anderson, the American Board's indefatigable Secretary. In 1843, when Fidelia Fisk began a missionary career in Persia, Miss Lyon wrote a book called *A Missionary Offering* that brought in $900 toward her support. A donation of $1,200 was contributed to the American Board by the Mt. Holyoke students and teachers in 1845.

In light of the climate in which they had been educated, it is not surprising that many Mt. Holyoke alumnae became missionary educators. A total of almost 400 South Hadley graduates were appointed overseas between 1837 and 1940, of whom some 60 served in the four American Board missions to Turkey. To this number could also be added the alumnae of the Wellesley Female Seminary that was opened outside of Boston in 1870. Its program and organization were consciously based on Mary Lyon's philosophy, and Wellesley graduates have often worked in the American Board Schools in Turkey. Mt. Holyoke was joined by an influential competitor in the Connecticut River Valley in 1875, when Smith College opened its doors. Previously, Vassar College had been founded by Matthew Vassar, a wealthy businessman and brewer, in 1861. But the rationale and mode of operation at Smith and Vassar were entirely different from those at Mt. Holyoke, and Smith and Vassar graduates were never prominent in the American Board's schools in Turkey.

Sadly, as if to prove the truth of Miss Lyon's adage that "the good die first," the pioneer Mt. Holyoke girl to sail for Turkey lost her life within a year of landing at Smyrna. She was Emma L. Bliss, the bride of the Reverend H. J. Van Lenney. Even before this event,

a person who had been prepared under the tutelage of Mary Lyon was in Turkey. She was Mrs. Benjamin Schneider, an Abbott of Framingham, Massachusetts, prior to her marriage in 1833. She and her husband were commissioned as missionaries to Broosa (modern Bursa), Asia Minor, at the Andover Seminary Chapel, and they arrived in Constantinople in February, 1834. Mrs. Schneider brought to her new tasks the liberal education that she had received at the Ipswich Female Seminary.

When the Schneiders arrived at their station, they encountered widespread disease and suffering in Bursa. "Perishing," as it was conceived by these New England Calvinists, included intellectual, moral and physical, as well as spiritual aspects of life. Their letters home reminded their Yankee readers of the crisis they had found: "There is nothing imaginary about it, but all is actual and palpable reality." [4] One of their first acts to alleviate the sad conditions around them was to start a school. Within two weeks, seventy children were attending their new institution, and the Schneiders kept it going in spite of opposition from the local Greek hierarchy. In addition, their Sunday afternoons were reserved for an "exercise for females." The women also attended a special Bible class on Tuesdays, and the Schneiders made systematic visits to their homes, leaving books or tracts if someone there was able to read. [5]

The thought world of the early nineteenth century permeates Mrs. Schneider's letters from Bursa. She talks of working with "nominal Christians," and her frustrations are great when local Armenians and Greeks fail to "understand." She recounts no less than forty-one ways in which life in Turkey is the exact reverse of what it is in the United States. The fortieth point of contrast concerns punishment at school and she blithely writes: "In America the rod is applied to the scholar's back, here to the soles of his feet." [6] The Schneiders were later moved to the town of Aintab, and between 1849 and 1862 Bursa had no resident American missionary. Nevertheless, a day school enrolling thirty-five students was kept open by the local Protestant Church. In 1876 Bursa became the site of a girls' boarding school sponsored by the Women's Board of the Pacific, one of the three women's auxiliary groups that were linked with the American Board. Its leaders, Julia A. Rappleye, Mrs. T. A. Baldwin,

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[4] Mrs. E. C. A. Schneider, *Letters from Broosa, Asia Minor* (Chambersburg, Pa.: Publication Office of the German Reformed Church, 1846), pp. 26 f.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 201 f.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

Phoebe Cull, Annie T. Allen, and Jeannie L. Jillson had all been directly or indirectly influenced by Mt. Holyoke.

After efforts to begin a day school for Greek girls in 1832, the Reverend and Mrs. William Goodell started another girls' school in Constantinople in 1845. This time, a boarding department was included to serve the daughters of Armenians who were friendly to the Protestant missionaries. Harriet M. Lovell was appointed by the Prudential Committee in Boston especially to direct this new institution, which she led until her marriage. The school was then headed by Maria A. West until it was moved to Marsovan in Asia Minor in 1862. This school had made a powerful enough impression so that within less than a decade a new Home School for Girls was opened in Constantinople by the Women's Board of Missions, another of the American Board auxiliaries. It originated when six American women each agreed to pay $500 towards its establishment. The plan was to develop a threefold program including community outreach and instruction in home medical care, as well as the normal academic subjects. This broad ideal was never fully realized, but the Home School did establish a tradition of practical involvement with the Gedik Pasha section of European Constantinople, where it was located until 1876. It was then moved to Scutari (modern Üsküdar) on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, where it remained until 1914 when, as the American College for Girls at Constantinople, it settled into its present campus at Arnavütköy, outside of the city on the European side.

Parallels can be cited between the Home School and Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary which inspired it. For instance, the institution in Turkey was noted for its excellent school chorus and for the dramatic productions staged by its students. The ideal of selfless humanitarian service, reminiscent of Mary Lyon's goal for the Mt. Holyoke girls, was always taught at the Home School. As a result, many of its graduates did not flinch at accepting teaching posts in remote and backward communities. Its alumnae were also pioneers in other fields. Surpigh Vosquemada was the first Ottoman subject to become a professional nurse and Zarouhi Kavaljian was the first Armenian woman in the Empire to study medicine. Dr. Mary Mills Patrick, the first president of the girls' college that grew out of the Home School, was a model of the industry and erudition that had been valued so much at South Hadley. She earned a Ph.D. in Greek and philosophy, magna cum laude, at the University of Berne, Switzerland. Her doctoral dissertation was on "Sextus Empiricus and Greek Scepticism," and she published a monograph on Sappho, the classical

Greek feminist, whom she admired. Besides English, she was fluent in ancient and modern Armenian, French, German, Greek and Turkish. Like Mary Lyon had been, Mary Mills Patrick was a gifted planner and fund raiser. She got funding from the Women's Board of Missions, constituted a faculty from the women who had previously taught at the Home School, and became the first president of the girls' college. So the new institution was paid for, taught by, and administered by women. [7]

When the Marsovan Boarding School for Girls was opened in 1865, its first principal was Ann Eliza Fritcher, a Mt. Holyoke graduate who had also taught under Miss Lyon at South Hadley. She directed the school until 1893, assisted by Flasia S. Bliss and Frances E. Washburn, both of whom had also been Mt. Holyoke girls. Another teacher at the school was Anna Felician, an Armenian who was "possessed of wonderful efficiency combined with deep spirituality." [8] Miss Felician spent 1882 on the Mt. Holyoke campus and then served the Marsovan School for over fifty years. The curriculum at Marsovan included mathematics, history, botany, geology, and physics, as well as psychology and domestic science. Two of the old "ornamentals," needlework and music, were taught, but all the girls took them without paying any additional fees. The Mt. Holyoke influence on this program can be seen in its stress on the natural sciences, the inclusion of practical skills and the complete rejection of the elitist 'finishing school' concept. Armenian and Turkish were originally the languages of instruction, but teaching in English was started in 1882. When a Greek department was added in 1884, Greek as well as Armenian girls began to attend the school. [9]

At first, the girls were not charged tuition, but later Mary Lyon's theory of requiring that everyone pay something toward the cost of her education was instituted. As was true at Mt. Holyoke, the school's sponsors never lost sight of their religious objective. One of them wrote in 1911 : "The chief aim of the school remains, as it ever has, the spiritual development of girls." Marsovan Girls' School alumnae would need all of the spiritual armor that their mentors could muster for them. They were described by the same missionary as :

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[7] Hester Donaldson Jenkins, *An Educational Ambassador to the Near East* (New York : F. H. Revell Company, 1925), p. 59.

[8] "Marsovan, Turkey, Boarding School for Girls," a handwritten manuscript, Mt. Holyoke College Archives, South Hadley, Mass.

[9] Joseph K. Greene, *Leavening the Levant* (Boston : Pilgrim Press, 1916), pp. 165 f.

> Sweet, ladylike girls scattered over the land, in their fathers' homes, in homes of their own, in schools which they teach, sometimes very far away, and isolated, or in the hospital, where some of them remain as nurses for the sick,—their Christian spirit and poise of character make them leaders, with an eager following. [10]

This institution was known as the Anatolia Girls' School after Anatolia College was founded at Marsovan in 1886. It received support from the Women's Board of Missions, and Charlotte R. Willard, who led the school after 1898, was paid by the Women's Board of Missions of the Interior, the third of the American Board's auxiliaries for women. [11] The Tracy Kindergarten and the King Memorial School for the Deaf were other outgrowths of the Anatolia Girls' School that also received strong backing from American women.

There had been a little Protestant Church at Bardizag, a rural town about sixty miles east of Constantinople, since 1856. Early in the 1860s American Board missionaries there laid plans for a girls' boarding school which reached fruition when Laura Farnham came on the scene in 1870. Miss Farnham was a Mt. Holyoke graduate whose energies and skills must have been strained by the size of the task that she had undertaken. Using a rented building that had been remodeled, she carried on a largely one-woman operation. She administered the school, taught most of the lessons, was in charge of discipline, kept all of the accounts, and supervised the health and morals of her girls. Armenian was used for most of the lessons, but there was also instruction in English. The syllabus at Bardizag included mathematics through elementary algebra and geometry, general history, scripture lessons, singing, and physical education, as well as language and literature. We can imagine the raised eyebrows when the natives observed Miss Farnham leading the girls in calisthenics. Physical education for women was certainly an innovation in a society where women had previously had largely menial roles and were not expected to venture outside of their homes. [12]

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[10] Mrs. Edward Riggs, "The Anatolia Girls' School," *Light and Life*, April, 1911, p. 162.

[11] David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey?* (Boston: The American Board, 1913), pp. 156 f.

[12] Krikor Mekhalian (comp.), *Bardizag and its People* (in Armenian) (Cairo: Sahag-Mesrob Printing House, 1938), pp. 329 f.

Bardizag was a poor community and as long as the school remained there, tuition fees had to kept very low. However, the nearby town of Adabazar was much more affluent and also was a native Protestant center. The elders of the Armenian Evangelical Church at Adabazar invited Miss Farnham to move the Girls' Boarding School to their city in 1884. The Women's Board of Missions was to continue paying the salaries of the American teachers, and the American Board agreed to grant $176 a year for scholarships. Aside from this outside support, all of the school's other expenses were to be met by a local Board of Managers. The Adabazar Church also offered Miss Farnham the use of a new, three-story building for the school. As a result of this attractive offer, the girls' school left its original location and became the Adabazar Armenian Female School (*Adabazari Hayuhqatz Varjharan*). In all, Laura Farnham devoted thirty-seven years to this school, which always reflected the Mt. Holyoke plan. Everyone in the school was expected to help with the housekeeping, and lessons in homemaking and tailoring were taught. Because the Armenian language was always used at the school, which was self-supporting and locally managed, the people of Adabazar took great pride in it. The American Academy for Girls at Üsküdar which today faces modern Istanbul from the Asian side of the Bosphorus traces its lineage to the little school that Miss Farnham brought from Bardizag to Adabazar, so her efforts have had far-reaching consequences in Turkey for more than a century.

Smyrna (modern Izmir) was another spot in Asia Minor that received the Mt. Holyoke touch. A girls' boarding school was opened there in 1878, and seven years later a kindergarten and normal school were developed in connection with it. These pioneering institutions made a unique contribution to educational progress in Turkey. They were started by Cornelia Storrs Bartlett in 1885. Miss Bartlett had attended Mt. Holyoke for one year in 1877 and then studied at Wellesley College. Later trained as a kindergarten teacher, she returned to join her missionary parents in Turkey. At Smyrna she opened the first formal kindergarten in the country, attended by seven Armenian toddlers. The program was designed to be a demonstration school, and Miss Bartlett was almost immediately joined by six local women who were organized into a training class. This kindergarten-normal school was housed in rented quarters until a special building was constructed for it in 1894 with funds from a woman philanthropist from Middletown, Connecticut. Between 1885 and 1900 forty-two women were prepared as kindergarten teachers and they opened twenty-seven pre-schools in as many parts of Turkey. Miss Bartlett

went back to the United States in 1904, but the work she had started was incorporated into the American Collegiate Institute for Girls. The present American Collegiate Institute at Göztepe, Izmir, carries on the traditions of this institution. Although its functions no longer include the preparation of pre-school teachers, strong voluntary social service and child care activities are within the Mt. Holyoke heritage. [13]

Although the educational ventures begun by Mt. Holyoke alumnae that have been discussed so far were in the more developed western part of Turkey and on or near the coast, the Mt. Holyoke spirit also reached into the Anatolian interior. The same Mrs. Schneider who had started a school at Bursa, for example, was transferred to Aintab (modern Gaziantep) which is today near the Syrian border. There, before her death in 1856, she began a girls' high school. After 1859 this became the Girls' Training School directed by Miss Myra A. Procter. Thirty-two years later, in 1891, Miss Procter proudly stated that over 200 girls had been graduated from this school, of whom three-fourths had taught for at least a time and many stayed in the teaching profession for years. It must be remembered that this had been accomplished in a region of Turkey where only forty years previously the first missionaries had been able to find just one literate woman! These women educators had broken into a profession that had always exclusively been dominated by men. In addition to this direct impact, the Girls' Training School at Aintab had also brought into being other girls' boarding schools at Adana, Hadjin and Oorfa. [14]

Further to the East, Mt. Holyoke alumnae founded another influential Female Seminary at Harpoot (*Kharpert* in Armenian). It was a division of what came to be known as Armenia or, later, Euphrates College. Mrs. Crosby H. Wheeler began the program for girls there, and both she and her daughter, Emily, who taught in it for sixteen years, were educated at Mt. Holyoke. English literature was taught to the girls by Mrs. Wheeler, while Miss Wheeler was their singing instructor. Of course, the girls did all of their own

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[13] "The First Kindergarten in Turkey," *The Missionary Herald*, XC, 12 (1894), 512-513; Lyman Bartlett, "Kindergarten Work of Cornelia S. Bartlett," and a letter from Lyman Bartlett to Miss Edwards, a handwritten manuscript, Mt. Holyoke College Archives, South Hadley, Mass.

[14] Myra A. Procter, "Aintab, Central Turkey," *The Missionary Herald*, LXXXVII, 7 (1891), 297; Mrs. Benjamin Schneider, "Fifty Years of the Central Turkey Mission: Some Contrasts," *The Missionary Herald*, XCIII, 10 (1897), 391-393.

housekeeping, in line with Mary Lyon's beliefs; but at Harpoot they spread out their beds on the floor at night and rolled them up for storage during the day, in keeping with local customs. After the massacres of 1895, Emily Wheeler founded and headed up a National Armenian Relief Committee from her home in Worcester, Massachusetts, which provided care and education for 40,000 children who had been orphaned, and she later also assisted American Indian children. [15]

The only Arabic language secondary school for girls in Turkey was started by a Mt. Holyoke graduate of 1861. This school was located at Mardin, a predominantly Muslim town that was also a center of the Assyrian (Syrian Orthodox) Church. Its founder was Olive Parmelee (later Mrs. Alpheus N. Andrus), who instituted a typically Mt. Holyoke type of program. The main characteristic was that because Arabic was the students' mother tongue, Turkish as well as English had to be taught as a foreign language at Mardin. There were daily gymnastic exercises and twice weekly basketball games among the girls. As always, of course, Bible study received constant attention, with a half hour a day being devoted to the scriptures during the entire four-year course. [16]

One of the most fascinating outgrowths of the college in South Hadley, Massachusetts, was the Mt. Holyoke Girls' Seminary for Kurdistan, as the school was officially styled. It was opened at Bitlis in 1870 by two sisters, Misses Charlotte and Mary Ely, who graduated from Mt. Holyoke in 1861. Bitlis is a small town set in the mountains of eastern Turkey only twelve miles from the shores of Lake Van. Into it were imported Mary Lyon's cardinal tenets, among them an insistence that no girl would ever be admitted to the school free, but that aid would be provided according to each pupil's resources. All changes in the girls' standard of living after they joined the school would be very gradual so that they would not be alienated from their home environments more than absolutely necessary. Every student had to carry out domestic tasks in order to economize and develop a humble character. And Bible study was prominent because the great aim of the institution was to "bring souls to Christ."

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[15] Mrs. Crosby H. Wheeler, *Missions in Eden* (New York: Fleming Revell Company, 1899), pp. 117 f.; Ruth A. Benedict, "One Woman's Service in Behalf of Thousands of Orphans," *The Congregationalist and Christian World*, March 7, 1903, p. 348.

[16] Agnes Fenenga, "The Mother of Many Daughters," *Light and Life*, January, 1911, pp. 14-17; Richard S. M. Emrich, "Mrs. Andrus of Mardin," *The Missionary Herald*, CXII, 11 (1916), 497.

By 1888 two native assistants were helping the Ely sisters at the school, which enrolled forty boarders and twelve day students. Only twenty of the girls, less than half, could fully pay their own way, but every student made some contribution toward meeting her school expenses, even if this was provisions rather than cash. Graduates of the Bitlis Seminary taught in the other schools of that region, and one even opened up her own primary school in the town of Mush. Thirty girls were soon studying in it, another example of how the new learning and ideals were diffused. [17]

The most eastern educational outpost of the American Board in Turkey was at Van, and here too Mt. Holyoke alumnae made their mark. The Girls' Seminary of Van was begun by Martha W. Tinker Raynolds in 1878, and Mrs. Raynolds headed the school for its first twenty-three years. She was succeeded by another Mt. Holyoke graduate, Grisell McLaren, in 1901. The Van Girls' Seminary developed into a thriving institution of 280 students with seven Armenian teachers on its faculty. It provided an extensive curriculum, reaching from the kindergarten level through eleven years of elementary and secondary studies. An article in *Light and Life* in 1905 gives an idea of the style of life at this school. Mealtimes were described, saying, "Our girls sit on benches beside long tables; each one has a fork and a spoon, and one dish serves two girls." [18] The idea of women caring for their own hair was so novel that prizes had to be offered to the girls who would braid their own coiffures. Students and teachers occupied their free time by knitting their own stockings from wool.

Just as had been the case at Mt. Holyoke, the Van Girls' Seminary maintained a network of ties with the common schools in the villages around the town. Another contemporary account describes the experiences of two seminary students who were to teach in the village of Shadak for a year as "interns." Miss McLaren rode there on horseback with them, a two-day journey, to get them safely established at their post. During the year, these two teenaged girls would be on their own. The village would provide them with maintenance, but

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[17] Mary Ely, "Girls' School at Bitlis," *The Missionary Herald*, LXXXIV, 4 (1888), 164-165; Charlotte Ely, "The Girls' Seminary at Bitlis," *The Missionary Herald*, LXXXIX, 5 (1893), 196-197; "Mt. Holyoke Seminary at Bitlis," a handwritten manuscript, Mt. Holyoke College Archives, South Hadley, Mass.

[18] "Glimpses of Our School for Girls at Van, Turkey," *Light and Life*, February, 1905, pp. 59-62; "Van Girls' School, Eastern Turkey Mission," a handwritten manuscript, Mt. Holyoke College Archives, South Hadley, Mass.

they were to receive no other pay for their work. After the intern year, they could come back to the Van Seminary to complete their studies. [19]

All of the institutions that Mt. Holyoke alumnae had founded in Turkey were badly disturbed by World War I. Although war was not officially declared between the United States and the Ottoman Empire, after America entered the conflict on the side of the Allies Americans were suspect, because Turkey had linked itself to Germany. Also, a great deal of the American Board's educational work was with Armenians, a people whom the Young Turk regime was determined to eradicate from their realms. As a result, the girls' schools in eastern Turkey were closed and were never able to reopen. At least one graduate of Mt. Holyoke, Mrs. Raynolds, lost her life in the deportations, and other American educators were exiled from their posts. Only a handful of the formerly numerous American girls' schools could stay open or could get started again after the war, and these were soon educating Muslim Turkish girls almost exclusively. Due to this change of clientele, the pious aspects of the Mt. Holyoke tradition had to be removed, but the stress on language and literature, the natural sciences, vocal music, and physical education all fit in with the ideals of the new Turkish Republic.

Several other girls' schools had to be closed during the depression decade beginning in 1929, but two institutions have survived to the present. Both of them, even today, reflect the heritage which they received from Mt. Holyoke and Mary Lyon. In fact, we could speculate that the current American Academy for Girls at Üsküdar and the American Collegiate Institute in Izmir are closer to Mary Lyon's model than is today's Mt. Holyoke College. Miss Lyon's commitment to humanitarian service, which many affluent Americans find excessively idealistic, is still a functional goal in the Middle East. Her stress on studying the vernacular is today almost universally approved, but with the development of a new Latin alphabet and the removal of many foreign elements from Turkish during the last fifty years, it was especially appropriate for Turkey. With the desire to modernize their home life, Turks have appreciated receiving practical instruction for domestic tasks far more than has recently been the case in our society. But perhaps most of all, concepts derived from Mt. Holyoke have contributed to the development of a Turkish

[19] Grisell M. McLaren, "A Teacher's Tour in Turkey," *Light and Life*, June, 1906, pp. 257-258.

feminist movement. From the mid-nineteenth century on, the citizens of Turkey have had steady contact with American women who had received and in turn communicated an education that was designed to meet their needs instead of mimicking the current male pedagogy. They have been able to observe indomitable American women who let nothing shake them from establishing centers of learning for their sex in Asia Minor. They have seen institutions taught by women, administered by women, and paid for by women. And they have experienced the influence of the alumnae of these daughter schools who have always actively worked to emancipate the women of Turkey. In many ways, Mary Lyon was a product of her times. Some of the theories and practices of the Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary now appear quaint and dated. But they did produce a remarkable breed of women who helped to rewrite the history of their sex in Turkey.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Der Koran. Ed. by Rudi Paret. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975. ("Wege der Forschung," Band CCCXXVI.) xxv plus 449 pp. DM 79.- (for members of the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft: DM 45.-).

Professor Rudi Paret has rendered a service to many people interested in Qur'anic Studies by making available in one volume reprints of forty-eight—mostly very brief—Western contributions to this field of study dating from 1921 to 1970. The book—with its somewhat surprising and confusing title—is divided into eight sections: Translation and Analysis, Historical Interpretation, Christian and Jewish Influences, Specific Suras, Specific Texts and Expressions, The Mysterious Letters, History of the Text, and The Qur'ān as the Word of God.

Section I has, in addition to a selection from Fischer's well-known study on various translations of S. 111, [1] review articles of the Qur'ān translations by Bell (Merrill), Blachère (Attema), Arberry (Paret), Paret (Gätje), and Henning (new ed.; Paret), as well as Paret's review of the *Analyse Conceptuelle*. The second section contains two contributions by Horovitz dealing with the paradise-notion of the Qur'ān, three *M.W.* articles by Bell on Muḥammad's Call and Visions and his attitude towards divorce, Beck's article from 1952 on Abraham, and three contributions by Paret ("Der Koran als Geschichtsquelle," "Der Koran und die Prädestination," and a review of Birkeland's *Old Muslim Opposition against Interpretation of the Koran*). The choice of articles for the next section, on Christian and Jewish influences (contributions by Fück, Beck, Gräf, Paret and Philonenko), seems less satisfactory to me than is the case of the other sections. Paret's comments in his introduction (pp. xviii, xix, xx) are, however, a most helpful additional guideline—and warning signal—for those interested in this topic. (The whole preface deserves careful attention.) That Birkeland's and Paret's studies on S. 95, 107, 109 and Paret's brief but important article on major aspects of the Prophet's earliest proclamation are included in Section IV is not surprising. The omission of Beck's and Paret's studies on S. 30, mentioned on p. xx, is regrettable, because they offer excellent specimens of the authors' approaches to Qur'anic exegesis. The choice made for Section V ("Einzelne Textstellen und Termini") is, necessarily, a highly subjective one, and it would make no sense to list articles which to others may seem to be of at least similar significance as some of those now included: studies on the term *ḥanīf* (Farir and Glidden), on Mary's ascension (Henninger; the placement here rather than in Section III is of interest), on *ṭāghūt* (Köbert), on S. 9:29 (Rosenthal, Cahen, Bravmann, Kister), and again three contributions by Paret

[1] Only the first six pages of A. Fischer's *Der Wert der vorhandenen Koran-Übersetzungen und Sure 111* (Berichte über die Verh. der Sächs. Ak. der Wiss. zu Leipzig. Phil.-hist. Klasse, 89. Band, no. 2, 1937 [49 pp.]) have been included here.

(a review of Birkeland's study on the Opening of Muḥammad's Breast and studies on S. 55:6 and 2:256). By far the most cohesive section —notwithstanding the differences in approach and in conclusions—is that on the mysterious letters (Bauer's 'classic,' followed by the articles from Goossens, Seale and Jones; see also pp. XXI-XXII).

The choice of the four 'specialists' who are represented in the section on "The History of the Text" can hardly be challenged by anyone: Bergsträsser, Jeffery,[2] Pretzl and Spitaler. Section VIII, finally, limits itself to two articles, the first by Paret on al-Bāqillānī's position and the second by Bouman on the views of 'Abd al-Jabbār.

At the end of his preface (pp. XXIV-XXV) Paret reflects on the chasm which still exists between Muslim and 'Western' contributions to Qur'anic Studies and gives Muslim theologians the assurance that a historical-critical approach to the Qur'ān will not endanger their identity as believers but will help them to carry their spiritual heritage into the future in a new and meaningful manner. While readers may differ in opinion on the validity and appropriateness of his suggestion, the statement that a gulf exists between Muslim and 'Western' scholarship in the field of Qur'anic Studies can hardly be denied. The exceptions are indeed relatively rare. A volume like this one seems to underline the reality of that distance rather than begin to bridge it. Would it be unrealistic to hope that the next anthology of Qur'anic Studies, in not too distant a future, would be more encouraging in this respect?

Institute of Islamic Studies WILLEM A. BIJLEFELD
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Introduction to Classical Arabic Literature. By Ilse Lichtenstadter. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974. xvii plus 392 pp.

This book consists of two parts. Part I is an introduction comprising eight chapters on the development of Arabic literature (pp. 3-120 plus notes, bibliography and index), and Part II is made up of selections from Arabic literature in English translation (pp. 149-392). As Professor Lichtenstadter says in her preface, the book has been written for the non-specialist and aims at giving an idea of the richness of Arab/Muslim literature, the depth of its religious, theological, and philosophical thought, and the breadth of its interest and the refinement of its scholarship and method.

While this aim has been adequately achieved, this all-inclusive view of 'literature' has left little place for Arabic imaginative writing such as poetry and belles-lettres in general. Only twenty-three pages in the introduction are devoted to a discussion of such writing, and about double that number of pages in the selections include English translations from it.

[2] Somewhat surprising is that the introduction does not mention A. Jeffery's most helpful survey, "The Present Status of Qur'anic Studies," which appeared in *Report on Current Research on the Middle East*, Spring 1957, pp. 1-16.

The bulk of the introduction is taken up by a survey of Islamic culture in general, including the life of the Prophet, the Qur'ān, the Ḥadīth, the law and dogma of Islam, and the scholarly disciplines developed by Muslims, such as philology, grammar, lexicography, historiography, geography, medicine, the natural sciences, and philosophy. The greater part of the selections is from Arab historians, theologians, philosophers, and travelers. Most of the translations are excerpts reprinted from earlier published works by several authors, but there are a few by Herbert Mason, John Damis, Wheeler McKintosh Thackston Jr., and Ilse Lichtenstadter herself that are original and add a refreshing note to the selections.

A few errors mar this otherwise scholarly book. It is wrong to call 'Uthmān the fourth caliph (p. 44) when he is actually the third. Since the publication of al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* in three volumes as edited by Marsden Jones (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), it is no longer true to say "we possess it only in excerpts" (p. 51). Reference to *fiqh* as canon law (p. 69) and to *sharī'ah* as civil law (p. 70) is misleading. The quotation (p. 72) from the Qur'ān is inaccurate when it transcribes S. 2:256/257 *lā ikrāha fi-l-Islām* instead of *lā ikrāha fi-d-dīn*. Although the author has a system of transliteration outlined (p. xvii), she mistransliterates Ibāḍīs as 'Ibādīs and 'Abādīs (pp. 77, 135, 138), misnames Ibn 'Arabī's book as *Fuṣūl al-Ḥikmah* (p. 85) instead of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, and calls the fasting month of Ramaḍān one time Ramadhān (p. 43) and another time Rumaḍān (p. 105).

All this aside, the non-specialized reader will derive rewarding information from this book if he or she is patient and is not turned off by the author's wide and all-inclusive concept of 'literature' in this series of Twayne's Introductions to World Literature, the other volumes of which concentrate on national literatures of imaginative writing such as poetry, fiction, drama, essays, and other strictly literary genres.

Institute of Islamic Studies ISSA J. BOULLATA
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On the Art of Medieval Arabic Literature. By Andras Hamori. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974. xii plus 182 pp. Bibliography, Index. $10.00.

Professor Andras Hamori is concerned with coherence in medieval Arabic literature both at the technical level of structure and the interpretational level of meaning. Dealing with poetry in the first five chapters of his book, he refuses to regard the Arabic poem as a mosaic of themes loosely hanging together. He applies to it the criteria of modern literary criticism and elicits a structural coherence rarely appreciated and a vision of life often overlooked.

His point of departure is that "mortality is the nourishment of art." He therefore sees the facing of death head-on as the first task of the *qaṣīda* (the pre-Islamic ode). As the pre-Islamic poet paints of himself a heroic image of recklessness, tempting death in war and analogously

exhibiting unlimited generosity that destroys his security in future sustenance, he is actually creating the heroic model who walks the brink and thus allows a vision of the totality of experience as balanced and coherent in a universe which is morally capricious to the pagan.

In Islam, the community lives the balanced life under the Sharī'a, and so the old poet's conception loses ground since death now is no longer the end of existence but the beginning of the afterlife. New poetic genres arise, however, which retain the old conception. Professor Hamori analyzes the *ghazal* (love poem) and the *khamriyya* (wine poem) as poetic genres which retain the obsession with recklessness. The Muslim poet in them is the object of reproof for giving himself up to love or wine, but he persists in his rebellion though it may bring upon him personal catastrophe or damnation. Poets of *waṣf* (description), on the other hand, try either to eliminate time in their static images or to surrender to it in their images of simultaneity, sequence, and change.

Professor Hamori supports his argument by a clever reading of several poets, especially some of those in *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* as well as Jamīl b. Ma'mar, Abū Nuwās, al-Ṣanawbarī, Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Abū Tammām, and al-Mutanabbī. He shows their use of formal arrangements, suggestive conventional phrases or words, distribution and patterns of rhetorical devices, and methods of transition and closure in order to bring out the subtleties of their technical coherence and poetic unity.

Dealing with prose in the last two chapters of his book, Professor Hamori chooses two stories from the *Arabian Nights*, namely, "The City of Brass" and "The Porter and the Three Ladies of Baghdad." Here again his analysis leads to an unveiling of coherence and an interest in the moral order or disorder in the universe. In the former story, the apparently random events are shown to be coherent when examined in the light of their references to a revealed moral order. In the latter story, the neat patterns of structure are shown to be speaking for a morally capricious universe. Though the stories represent two poles of thought, they demonstrate the storyteller's moral concerns which contemporaneous poets seem to have relinquished.

Professor Hamori's book is a precious addition to the library of literary criticism and Arabic literature in the West. It should stimulate further similar productions, especially in English which hardly has any comparable books.

Institute of Islamic Studies ISSA J. BOULLATA
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Four Egyptian Literary Critics. By David Semah. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974. viii plus 209 pages. Bibliography, Index. 48 guilders.

This book is a study of the theory and practice of literary criticism in the works of 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād (1889-1964), Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (1888-1956), Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889-1973), and Muḥammad Mandūr (1907-1965). Originally submitted in 1969 to the Uni-

versity of Oxford as a D.Phil. thesis written under the supervision of Dr. M. M. Badawi, the book is published as Volume III of Studies in Arabic Literature that supplement the *Journal of Arabic Literature*.

It is not made clear at the beginning why these four critics in particular and to the exclusion of others are chosen to be studied together. Though occasional references are made to their interrelationship, each of them is treated independently in one of the four parts of the book. The short conclusion at the end tries to pull the strings together by finding a pattern that dominates the works of these critics as they are considered to represent two conflicting approaches to literature: the first being that of al-'Aqqād, Haykal, and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn up to the 1930s; and the second that of Mandūr and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn from the 1930s onwards.

The first approach is governed by a deterministic theory that assumes a direct causal relationship between literature and the external forces supposedly influencing it. Al-'Aqqād concentrates on studying personality as he dwells on a poet's temperament, physical constitution. and inherited traits of character. Haykal sees literature only in terms of its relationship to society and in light of his concept of Egyptian particularity and nationhood. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, in the earlier part of his life, believes that a poet is the inevitable product of his environment.

The second approach rejects the deterministic outlook in literary criticism. Mandūr and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn in the latter part of his life contend that literature is the pursuit of beauty and that literary criticism is not an exact science. The personal taste of the critic is his best guide, but it must be educated and trained. Furthermore, a critic must be capable of reasoning in order to substantiate his literary preferences. Without overlooking external influences on literature, he must focus on the literary text and its artistic qualities, not on extraneous factors.

David Semah has written a detailed study of each of these critics, using their books and articles on modern as well as classical Arab poets and writers. He has also related them to European thought in general and to Western literary criticism in particular. With a keen eye, he has noted the change in their orientation as they developed: al-'Aqqād relinquishing his position on racial characteristics, Haykal retreating from his support of positivism, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn retracting his belief in determinism. Of the four, only Mandūr "the specialized critic" is rightly shown to have maintained his original orientation, his recent support of social realism and free verse being seen merely as a further application of his theory.

The analytical and historical method of the author is to be commended. This book is good reading for all those interested in modern Arabic literature and criticism.

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Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry. Studies by Samuel Miklos Stern. Selected and edited by L. P. Harvey. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974. xv plus 230 pages. Bibliography of S. M. Stern, Indexes. $25.75.

This posthumous book contains an abridgment of S. M. Stern's unpublished doctoral thesis of 1950 entitled "The Old Andalusian *Muwashshaḥ*" written in Oxford under the supervision of H. A. R. Gibb, and four relevant articles of his on strophic poetry in Muslim Spain published in learned journals in 1948, 1949, 1951, and 1964, of which two were originally written in French and one in Italian.

It is obvious that there is no new material in this book for those who know the broad scholarship of S. M. Stern (1920-1969) and his contributions to the fields of Fāṭimid and Ismā'īlī history, numismatics, medieval Hebrew literature and thought, Arabic strophic poetry, and Islamic philosophy. But it is a good tribute to his memory, and an act of love on the part of L. P. Harvey, to gather these writings of Stern on Arabic and Hebrew strophic poetry in Spain and make them available in book form to Arabists, Hebraists, and Hispanists.

The editor has updated a few areas of Stern's text and some of his footnotes. Naturally, he did not add to Stern's argument or his findings. However, specialists in the field of Hispano-Arabic poetry, building on Stern's labors and those of others, have moved forward in their understanding of certain aspects of his poetry; but that is not reflected in this book.

While Stern was generally against the 'Arabic theory' of the influence of Arabic strophic poetry on the Romance poetry of Spain, he shared Dozy's belief that this question was "a completely idle one." More recent studies, however, seem to indicate that there is more argument to support the reverse theory of the influence of oral Romance lyrics on Arabic strophic poetry, both in its *muwashshaḥ* as well as *zajal* forms.

With regard to the closing couplet of the *muwashshaḥ* known as the *kharja* and usually written in dialectal Arabic or Romance, there is more general belief now that it is a quotation from popular songs of the period and that it is meant to be the prosodic key to the poem it closes. Its meter, now believed to be based on syllabic accentuation and not on quantitative values, runs through the whole *muwashshaḥ*; and this is said to be a better explanation of the metrics of strophic poetry than the application of the traditional metrics of classical Arabic poetry. Stern, however, tried to account for the metrics of this strophic poetry by reference to classical Arabic prosody and when it was not fully applicable he advanced *ad hoc* explanations keeping such metrics within the scope of what he considered to be modifications to classical Arabic prosody and variations on it.

Did the *kharja* function also as the musical key which hinted at the tune to which the *muwashshaḥ* was to be sung? Perhaps. But S. M. Stern had no place for speculation. He demanded concrete evidence, and this can in no sense diminish his stature or the historical importance of his contribution. Nevertheless, I would have liked to see more references by the editor to recent studies on or editions of

Hispano-Arabic poetry by Emilio García Gómez, Iḥsān ʿAbbās, and others.

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The Ḥamadsha : A Study in Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry. By Vincent Crapanzano. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1973. xiv plus 258 pp. $12.00.

If the non-specialist reader can bypass the formidable term 'ethnopsychiatry' in the subtitle of this book, he will find that anthropologist Crapanzano's study makes absorbing reading. It describes the organization and the practices of a small Moroccan religious brotherhood, one of whose functions is to provide healing for the physically and mentally ill.

The Ḥamadsha are devotees of two Moroccan saints, Sidi ʿAli ben Ḥamdush and Sidi Ahmed Dghughi, who died in the first half of the eighteenth century, and whose tombs, located in the hills north of Meknes, are famous pilgrimage sites. There exist practically no records of the origin and development of the brotherhood. Sidi ʿAli is said to be one of the spiritual descendants of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 1258), from whom developed the many-branched Shādhiliyya way of mysticism in the Islamic world.

After a short general historical survey, the author recounts some of the legends about the two saints and offers psychological and sociological interpretations of them. According to one of the stories, Sidi Ahmed went to the Sudan and brought back to Morocco a female demon, Lalla Qandisha, who ever since has shared with the two saints the place of highest reverence in the minds of Ḥamadsha devotees.

Crapanzano's field work, done in 1967 and 1968, was concentrated in the villages of Beni Rachid and Beni Ouarad, where the saints are buried, and in the city of Meknes. In four chapters he describes the social and economic organization of the Ḥamadsha who live in those localities.

Finally, in the last four chapters of the book the author enlarges upon his particular purpose in studying the brotherhood. This is to present the Ḥamadsha system of therapy "within a framework that will be familiar to readers of Western medical and psychiatric literature," thus making possible a description of those healing processes "with minimum distortion" and also providing "a suitable vehicle for comparison" with theories of other societies. Subjects discussed in these chapters are the theory of demon influence as the cause of illness, diagnostic procedures, the problem of identifying the demon who is responsible for an illness, and the parts played by pilgrimage and by ecstatic dancing in effecting cures. The final chapter contains suggestions as to how, in terms of Western psychotherapy, the Ḥamadsha cures may be explained. An appendix lists some factors which may help to induce trance during the ecstatic dance of

the devotees. A glossary of Arabic words and a bibliography are also appended to the text.

This reviewer is not competent to comment upon the particular quality of this work as anthropological research. There is no doubt, however, that the author's careful descriptions and interpretive insights constitute an original contribution to literature on the brotherhoods. His disciplinary bias, which he freely admits (p. 9), does not prevent him from depicting coherently, if not completely, the world view of a certain segment of the Moroccan population.

The weakest part of the book is its introductory chapter, a perfunctory nod to the fact that brotherhoods like the Ḥamadsha are related to Sufism. Little indication is given of the complex religious history of popular saint and demon veneration.

Although the rendering of Arabic words is intended to be simple (p. ix), it is actually confusing because no consistent and adequate system of transcription is used. The author should have realized that readers with professional interest in his subject want to know precisely what the Arabic words are to which reference is made. For this purpose diacritical marks are indispensable.

Abū Madyan was not from Tilimsān (Tlemcen) (p. 19), but from Bijāya (Bougie).

The unqualified use of "guitar," "snare drum," "recorder," and "oboe," to translate the names of traditional musical instruments is misleading.

The author's generalization "that women in the Islamic world do not attend the services at a mosque" is unwarranted, despite what he may have observed in Morocco.

The origin of *maqius* (pp. 153 ff.), one of the words used to describe demon possession, is not given. It is possibly a participial form from the root, k-y-s, meaning "to rub."

Tunis, Tunisia R. Marston Speight

Publish it not ... The Middle East Cover-up. By Christopher Mayhew and Michael Adams. Harlow, Essex, England: Longman's Group Ltd., 1975. xii plus 194 pp. Index and appendices. £ 5.00.

A Biblical title from an unexpected source, with a vivid 'commentary' in the subtitle proving that there is next to no differentiation between *Whitehall* and the *White House* in "cover-up" problems. Once Balfour has sought refuge via the Pigeon Rocks and Lloyd George and Churchill said their "Amen" to one of the injustices of history, the rank hypocrisy of Whitehall and later the leading figures of the Labour Patry could have full rein in an unblushingly disgraceful policy. This soon becomes obvious in a book at once frank and free, fresh and factual to some, but fearless, formidable, and growingly familiar to us all.

Outspoken and unique as the opening chapters are, based on how one or the other of the authors tells how he reached his position, others are their united work in collating views or experiences. They

'converted' themselves, only to discover that truth is indivisible, since one of the supreme failures in the Palestine tragedy lies in the blank refusal of the "Whities" to protest against the outrages of Zionist racism. This was evident in the early days of the British Mandate with the Palestinian shops in the Jaffa Road festooned with black flags in apprehension, to the day when the U.N.O. was forced into its fateful decision. *Publish it not* ... will make those who lived through it recall the remark attributed to the first High Commissioner: "We expect to have a Jewish State here within fifty years. ... If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded. ..."

If a further Lukan parallel be wanted, there is one in the final story extant of his writings, suitable for the authors, when Paul and his company set sail from Malta on a ship of Alexandria bearing the twin name "Castor and Pollux," the 'patron saint' of sailors. It was on an Arab vessel from Hadramaut that Paul set out from Caesarea and on an Egyptian one that they reached Italy—a Semitic League in early years A.D.

So we set out with the *Gemini*, conscious of the quotation from Burke: "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men should do nothing." True of the chapters that concern the media, it is sadly as true of the one dealing with "The Failure of the Churches." If the previous chapters are devoted to conviction, stressing a mutual purpose of clearing away some of the myths, by which the problem has been surrounded, not always accidentally, so with others they look for a *settlement*—not a string of *kibbutzim* or such modern blocks as deface Jerusalem, the authors still want to find the liquidation of a problem which might be the harbinger of justice and peace to *both sides* "O si sic Omnes" [the italics ours].

If the authors had anything in common at the outset of their enterprise (one is an M.P., the other Director of the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding), it would be an experience of journalism, which makes their criticism of the "media," including the radio (with its bias that may deceive the few), and their contributions a sorry pleasure to read; but which includes in quotation the abuse of which Zionists are capable—on paper or otherwise.

There are notices of the politicians who opposed the Balfour Declaration: Montagu and Bevin, the latter unashamed of comparison with Old Testament outlooks, to which there is an echo in a letter of Lord Fisher dated March 7, 1972: "... the terrible plight of the Arab World in Palestine. It is B.C. indeed with the modern Jews shewing all the worst characteristics of the O.T. Jews!"

But if the lopsided bias of the "Atlantic" press, some radio commentators or correspondents giving themselves away by their speech, the churches in Britain or Palestine left little to be commended. Let the incidents of Halhul (p. 114), Imwas (p. 79)—probably and suitably the earliest church in the history of Christendom in commemoration of the Resurrection—Nebi Samwil (pp. 114-115), to say nothing of Deir Yassin (seriatim) before the British Mandate closed, make for shame, but hope too for resurrection. No wonder there were those (in the C.M.S., at any rate) who were warned by Bishop

Rennie MacInnes in Cairo back in 1921, saying that he had come to the conclusion that "Zionism was so wrong that God could have nothing to do with it." On the other side of the Atlantic is a Christmas letter of 1947 from Alice Jones (Friends' Mission in Ram-Allah): "I am ashamed of my country and of my President." The President was Truman. Sad reading, but the authors show that they have composed a commentary on the power of Zionism and the crumbling Christian conscience of Britain and the United States. They might pray for a modern John the Baptist and a clarion call to the repentance of heart as well as mind.

Publish it not ... is a book in which the maxim "de mortuis nil nisi bonum" is ruled out. What do the Crossman diaries have about the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry? Truman succumbed to reliance on the gold standard, Lloyd George and Churchill to the wiles of Weizmann. But there are other names recalled: Blanche Dugdale, who told the Cambridge Zionists on Whitsunday 1937 to join the O.T.C. to learn to fight not the Nazis but *in Palestine*; or Lady Stocks, who might have saved herself from her self-imposed stigma had she been willing to accept the experience of one of her own pupils engaged in education in Jordan (pp. 32 and 90).

More generally the Pentagon agreed on Christmas Eve 1946 that American missionaries in the Near East were 90 percent "pro-Arab," wanting to know if the same was true of British. The answer was affirmative, based on an experience in Sudan early the same year. In the end they were frank enough in the map-covered walls to say the missionary attitude and advice would not have produced funds. A few years later there was a similarity in the Whitehall decisions not to make use of the Newman School of Missions to help with the Arabic and general Islamic study of officers too badly wounded to return to active service on the ground that "Whitehall says you are too missionary." Instead, they set up a place of their own, with the programme of teaching and administration entrusted to Mr. Aubrey (later Abba) Eban.

There are other names in the index of non-Zionist Jews whose names and records will outlast not only Beigin or Dayan, Ben Gurion or even Herzl. "It isn't the same now that Magnes isn't here," said Leon Roth in 1951. But the list can be added to this side of the Atlantic and the other, with Buber, a patron saint of idealists anywhere, and Berger, who has taught others to see it as it is. To return again to the O.T., the modern Israelites need another Micaiah (ii Kings 22) if only to explode the "almost universally" accepted belief in Israel that "President Nasser stated that his aim was 'to drive the Jews into the sea.'" This myth was current, and not confined to Israel, months before the president of Egypt came into the limelight. Even if it were true, of which Sea would he have been thinking, the Mediterranean or the Red? We are grateful to the authors for the extermination of fiction. It remained for the media —press and radio alike—to revise his name, so that no Arab ignorant of the ways of the West would know about the person under discussion. For corrections, see page 191. The unwillingness to be exact in personal

and place names helps forward the decline of prestige in the Anglo-Saxon world.

The authors have dedicated their work to John Reddaway; they form a trio whose writings on this complicated area of the world should be among the 'sine qua nons' in Anglo-Saxon embassies eastwards from Rabat. Incidentally, *Publish it not* ... could serve as a valuable introduction to the subsequent shuffling diplomacy of the Secretary of State in Washington, maneuvering his way through the capitals of the Arab world by a method only describable as the ways of Jacob—with a tightrope instead of a ladder.

Redhill, Surrey, England ERIC F. F. BISHOP

From Ottomanism to Arabism : Essays on the Origins of Arab Nationalism. By C. Ernest Dawn. Urbana : University of Illinois, 1973. xi plus 212 pp. $8.95.

This book is a collection of seven essays, all of which—except one—had been published in various journals in the early 1960s. The author's essays do not really discuss the origins of Arab nationalism as indicated in the subtitle. They deal essentially with controversies on the motives and goals of the Arab revolt of 1916 and with what the author views as a change from Ottomanism to Arabism in the period from 1908 to 1918.

The major part of the book included in the first four essays tries to show that the Arab revolt was not a product of Arab nationalism. The author goes to great lengths to prove that Sharif Husayn of Mecca preferred Ottomanism to Arabism and revolted only when his efforts to reach agreement with the Turks failed. Husayn's goal, as Professor Dawn repeats throughout the book, was to secure his position in the Hejaz and keep his neighbors in check. The opportunity to achieve this goal came during World War I with the British alliance when Arabism became more useful to Husayn than Ottomanism. The author, nevertheless, gives a full account of Husayn's resistance to Turkish domination and of the contacts of his sons, Abdallah and Faysal, with the Arab nationalist movement in Syria before the revolt. He also mentions Sharif Husayn's determined refusal to participate in the Ottoman war effort before the Arab national demands are satisfied—and these demands include, among others, amnesty for the Arab political prisoners and decentralized regimes in Syria and Iraq. The author, moreover, quotes Amir Abdallah's words on Turkification and on the feeling of the Arabs and other elements that they were in danger of extinction (p. 73). He portrays Sharif Husayn's preoccupation with the territorial boundaries necessary for Arab existence rather than with "meaningless words and titles" such as the title of Caliph suggested by the British (p. 43). He quotes from Husayn's proclamations after the revolt about refusing to leave "our religious and national existence in the hands of the Unionists," and about "the new golden age in the history of the glorious Arab land" and the honor of "regaining permanent complete independence." But the author sees no nationalist

ideas or motivation in all these expressions of national feeling, and he imposes on them a narrow religious interpretation because they are associated in the text of the proclamations with certain religious arguments to justify the Arab revolt.

In his fourth essay, specially written for this volume, the author gives an exposé of the recent scholarly discussions on Anglo-Arab relations during World War I. He tends to disagree, after a judicious presentation of the pertinent arguments, with those writers who, for obvious reasons, have maintained that Palestine was excluded from the independent Arab state in the Husayn-McMahon correspondence. He seems to accept, on the other hand, the pro-Zionist and British apologists' view that the wartime agreements involved no British betrayal of the Arabs and no duplicity or bad faith because the British offered no unconditional independence to Husayn, and because of the extravagant assumption that McMahon's promises were based on the same principle as the Sykes-Picot agreement. This assumption as well as the author's view that the mandates were preferable to the terms of McMahon's letters are in direct contradiction with the established fact that the McMahon letters, reinforced by the message of Hogarth in January 1918, contained solemn guarantees of independence in spite of the reservations included in them, while the Sykes-Picot agreement was a colonial scheme for the foreign rule of the areas that were promised independence. The mandates were an implementation of the Sykes-Picot colonial scheme in a more extreme way since they removed the distinction between the zones of influence and the zones of direct rule and placed Palestine under British rule and thereby led to the series of disasters and crises that have plagued the Arab world ever since.

The second major part of the book tries to explain the origins of Arab nationalism but in a very restricted and one-sided manner. Professor Dawn claims that Arabism developed from modernist Ottomanism and was like it a reaction against the failure of Ottoman civilization to keep pace with Europe. The aim of both was to defend the Islamic East and close the gap between Islam and the West. He views the Arab revival as the result of the emphasis on Islam that heightened the importance of the Arabs, their language and their history, and gave them a special role in the revival of Islam. These claims and views are valid, but the problem is that the author cannot see the rise of Arab nationalism except in its connection with the special place of the Arabs in Islam and with the reaction of the Islamic East against the West. He evidently fails to recognize that there was an independent growth of Arab national consciousness that was a result of education and interest in the Arab cultural heritage, and that the Arabs developed an awareness of their national identity. The author actually finds little help in the ethnic sentiment of the Arabs because most Arabs, as he says, remained Ottomanists until 1918. He even strangely wonders why some Arabs preferred Arabism to Ottomanism which claimed to serve the same goal as Arabism, i.e., the defense of the Islamic East (pp. 145-149).

Perhaps the author could have answered this question if he had

explained fully what Ottomanism and Arabism stood for and in what sense the Arabs were Ottomanists and what their attitude was towards the policy of the Unionist Young Turks. It is possible that he would have then avoided the classification of the Arab elite into Arabists and Ottomanists and the questionable conclusions based on that classification in the essay on the rise of Arabism in Syria (where one would have been interested in some positive discussion on the particular causes for the rise of Arabism in that country). The distinction between Ottomanist and Arabist cannot be based on the holding of public office or the mere possession of vested interests in the Ottoman state, and the adoption of the Arab nationalist ideology was not merely an instrument of conflict by one element of the Arab elite against its rivals, as the author maintains (pp. 53, 173). Some of those who held office and would have been called Ottomanists by the author's definition were Arab nationalists, and some of the recognized Arabists who wanted the continuation of the Ottoman empire could therefore be called Ottomanists on the basis of the same definition. Moreover, membership in the Arab societies as well as overt action cannot be viewed as the only criteria for the identification of Arab nationalists because many of those who lived under the Ottoman empire or even served it were not in a position to express their national Arab feeling under the circumstances.

This book, in spite of its negativist approach in its discussion of the Arab revolt and its restricted treatment of the origins of Arab nationalism, is useful because of the questions it raises and the historical material it examines. It is one of those products of scholarship on this crucial period (1908-1918) that can be read with interest, and also with caution. It is one of those cases in which scholars have tried to remove what they believed to be misconceptions on the Arab revolt, the Hashemites, and the emergence of Arab nationalism, but in so doing they created other problems and misconceptions.

In the spelling and transcription of Arabic words and proper names, the author has had some difficulty with reading and vocalization. He has read *Lajnah* (one word that means "committee") *li-Jannah* (p. 7, n. 19). He has donr what many Arabists do when they render the terminal *t* in construct with a silent *h* as in *Jazīrah al-Arab* (p. 58, n. 11) which should be *Jazīrat al-Arab*, and *Matba'ah Bayt al-Muqaddas* (p. 56, n. 3) which should be *Matba'at Bayt al-Maqdis*. He has rendered *al-Fatāt* as *al-Fatāh* (p. 110) but he later gave the correct spelling. On pp. 174-176 the following corrections should be made in the tricky spelling and vocalization of proper names: Bahjat instead of Bahjah, Mraiwed instead of Maryud, Shurbaji instead of Shurbji, al-Jabbān instead of al-Jubbān, Da'ās instead of Di'ās, Musallam instead of Muslim (two cases), al-Husri instead of al-Husari, al-Mahayni instead of al-Muhayini, and al-Ghazzi instead of al-Ghāzi.

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GEORGE M. HADDAD

An Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan. By Henry W. Bellew. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1973. xi plus 212 pp. Maps and index.

When H. W. Bellew conducted his research on the ethnography of Afghanistan, that country was bounded "in the east by the Indus from Gilgit to the sea; on the south by the Arabian Sea; on the west by the Persian Kirman and Khorasan; and on the north by the Oxus river as far as Khojah Salih, and thence across the Kharizm desert to Persian Khorasan." His ethnography included, therefore, in addition to present Afghanistan, also the former North-West Frontier of British India and Baluchistan.

Bellew entered the service of the East India Company in the 1850s and spent a number of years in the North-West Frontier. He accompanied General Lumsden to Kandahar in 1857, Sir F. Pollock to Sistan in 1871-1872, and Sir Douglas Forsyth to Yarkand in 1873. At one time he was chief political officer at Kabul in the staff of General Roberts, and eventually he attained the rank of Surgeon-General in the Bengal Army.

During his years in India, Bellew published a number of books on Afghanistan and assiduously collected a wealth of data on the tribes and peoples of Afghanistan. He compared and supplemented this with information gleaned from the earliest Greek and Latin sources, including Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, Ptolemy, and Curtius, and utilized such 'modern' sources as Tod's *Annals of Rajastan* in his description of the intricate ethnic pattern of Afghan society.

The result of his labor was a 'paper' of 208 pages which he presented to the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London in September 1891.

The problem with the original publication of Bellew's *Ethnography* was that it was organized as one single essay, without any table of contents, index, or logical subdivisions which could be of use to the reader for purposes of reference. It is, therefore, fortunate that the Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt in Graz, Austria, has republished the work in a form which makes up for the previous deficiencies. In addition to a short introduction, the publisher has provided a comprehensive table of contents—listing major tribes and subdivisions—two excellent maps, and a detailed index.

A good amount of ethnographic research has been done since Bellew produced his pioneering work, and his "proof" of Greek descent of certain Afghan tribes, supported by the claim "that the vocabulary of the language they at this day speak as their vernacular dialect is to the extent of half, more or less—more rather than less either unaltered Greek or Greek changed so little from the original as to be easily recognizable" is not generally accepted today. Nevertheless, Bellew's work is still a valuable reference source which should be part of any library in the field of Afghanistan studies.

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Tucson, Ar.

Ludwig W. Adamec

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Seminar on Ḥadīth. The Muslim Students' Association of the United States and Canada held a seminar on ḥadīth, Rajab 2-4, 1395/July 11-13, 1975, at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago to celebrate the 1200th anniversary of the great traditionist al-Imām al-Bukhārī.

Over one thousand Muslims—men, women and children of different nationalities—attended the seminar. It was a religious event, where Muslims enthusiastically participated in the five daily prayers.

Besides lectures on the life and works of al-Bukhārī, especially his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim scholars from India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, the United States and Canada addressed themselves to the subjects of "The Indispensability of Ḥadīth in Islam" and the role of ḥadīth in Islamic law and in the understanding of the Qur'ān.

The speakers also discussed the methods of transmission of ḥadīth, its history and methodology, new approaches and problems in the study of ḥadīth for non-Arabic speaking people. The speakers were unanimous in stressing the need for the study of ḥadīth and for following the sunna of the Prophet.

W. Z. Haddad

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

I. General and Miscellaneous. Manuscripts, libraries. History of Islamic Studies.
II. Pre-Islamic Arabia. Muḥammad. The Qur'ān. Ḥadīth.
III. Religious Instruction. The Mosque. Religious Duties and Devotional Life. Ethics and Customs. Attitudes towards magic, etc. Sociology of Islam.
IV. Theology. Movements, sects; Shī'a. Philosophy. Sciences.
V. Sufism. Sufi Orders. Saints.
VI. Law. Politics; state; government. Nationalism. Socialism. Economics.
VII. Arabic and other relevant languages. Literature, culture, art. Education. Universities.
VIII. History of Muslim peoples, generally and in various areas (including studies on pre-Islamic period). Islam in modern history.
IX. Islam and other religions, civilizations, philosophies and ideologies.
X. Christianity and Islam (from a Christian point of view). The Church in Muslim environments.

Abbreviations are given below for publications regularly surveyed. For other journals, the name is given in full.
Annuals are not listed. Whenever an entry from an annual is included, the full title is given.

A.B.	*Analecta Bollandiana*, Bruxelles.
Ac.As.	*Acta Asiatica*, Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture, The Tōhō Gakkai, Tokyo.
AFER	*African Ecclesiastical Review*, Masaka, Uganda, East Africa.
Afr.	*Africa*, Journal of the International African Institute, London.
Afrika	*Afrika und Übersee*, Folge der Zeitschrift fur Eingeborenen-Sprachen, Berlin.
Afr.R.	*Africa Report*, Washington, D.C.
Almenara	Revista sobre el mundo árabo-islámico moderno, Madrid.
And.	*al-Andalus*, revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada.
Annals	*The Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, Pa.
A.P.	*The Aryan Path*, Bombay, India.
A.Q.	*Anthropological Quarterly*, Washington, D.C.
Ar.	*Arabica*, Revue d'études arabes, Leiden.
Aram.	*Aramco World Magazine*, New York.
Archives	*Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, Paris.
Ar.Or.	*Archiv Orientální*, Journal of the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague.
Basheer	*al-Basheer*, The Bulletin of the Christian Institutes of Islamic Studies, Henry Martyn Institutes, Hyderabad, India.

B.A.S.O.R.	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
B.J.R.L.	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, England.
B.S.O.A.S.	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
B.T.F.	*Bangalore Theological Forum*, Bangalore, India.
B.Z.	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, München.
C.E.A.	*Cahiers d'études africaines*, Paris.
C.Hist.	*Current History*, Philadelphia, Pa.
C.N.I.	*Christian News from Israel*, New Series, Jerusalem.
D.I.	*Der Islam*, Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients, Berlin.
Dial.	*Dialog*, A quarterly journal of theology, Minneapolis, Minn.
Diog.	*Diogenes*, The International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, Paris and Montreal.
E.M.M.	*Evangelisches Missions Magazin*, Basel.
E.M.Z.	*Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift*, Stuttgart.
Enc.	*Encounter*, Christian Theological Seminary, Indianapolis, Ind.
E.R.	*The Ecumenical Review*, World Council of Churches, Geneva.
E.T.	*The Expository Times*, Edinburgh, Scotland.
Eth.	*Ethnology*, International Journal of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Fr.	*Frontier*, London.
G.B.T.	*The Ghana Bulletin of Theology*, Legon.
H.R.	*History of Religions*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.
H.T.	*Hespéris Tamuda*, Rabat.
IBLA	*Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes*, Tunis.
I.C.	*Islamic Culture*, The Islamic Culture Board, Hyderabad-Deccan.
I.J.M.E.S.	*International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Middle East Studies Association, New York.
I.M.A.	*Islam and the Modern Age*, published by Islam and the Modern Age Society, New Delhi.
Ind.Q.	*India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
I.Q.	*The Islamic Quarterly*, The Islamic Cultural Centre, London.
Iqbal	A journal of the Bazm-i Iqbal, Lahore, Pakistan.
Iqbal Rev.	*Iqbal Review*, Journal of the Iqbal Academy, Karachi, Pakistan.
I.R.	*The Islamic Review and Arab Affairs*, London.
I.R.M.	*International Review of Missions*, W.C.C., Geneva.
I.S.	*Islamic Studies*, Islamic Research Institute, Islamabad.
Islam	Islamic Productions International, Inc., St. Louis, Mo.
I.T.	*Islamic Thought*, The Research Circle, Aligarh.
J.A.A.R.	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Chambersburg, Pa.
J.A.L.	*Journal of Arabic Literature*, Leiden, Holland.
J.A.O.S.	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore, Md.
J.E.S.H.O.	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden.
J.H.I.	*Journal of the History of Ideas*, New York.
J.N.E.S.	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago, Ill.
J.P.H.S.	*Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi.
J.P.S.	*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Beirut.
J.Q.R.	*The Jewish Quarterly Review*, The Dropsie University, Philadelphia, Pa.

J.R.A.	*Journal of Religion in Africa*, Leiden.
J.S.S.	*Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester University Press.
Ka.	*Kairos*, Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie, Salzburg.
Lig.	*Ligarzas*, Dept. of Medieval History, Valencia University.
M.D.	*The Muslim Digest*, International Monthly of Muslim Affairs, Durban, South Africa.
M.E.A.H.	*Miscelanea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, Universidad de Granada.
M.E.J.	*The Middle East Journal*, Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C.
M.I.	*Man in India*, A quarterly anthropological journal, Bihar, India.
Milla	*Milla wa-Milla*, The Australian Bulletin of Comparative Religion, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria.
Mus.	*Le Muséon*, Revue d'Études Orientales, Tijdschrift voor Oriéntalisme, Louvain.
Mushir	*al-Mushir* (The Counselor), Theological journal of the Christian Study Centre, Rawalpindi, West Pakistan.
N.C.C.R.	*National Christian Council Review*, Nagpur, Maharashtra, India.
N.E.S.T.Q.	*Near East School of Theology Quarterly*, Beirut.
N.J.I.	*Nigerian Journal of Islam*, Ife.
N.T.M.	*Norsk Tidsskrift for Misjon*, Egede Institute in cooperation with Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.
Nu.	*Numen*, International Review for the History of Religions, Leiden.
N.Z.M.	*Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, Immensee, Switzerland.
O.C.P.	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Roma.
O.L.Z.	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Berlin, Germany.
O.M.	*Oriente Moderno*, Istituto per l'Oriente, Roma.
Or.	*Orient*, Paris.
ORITA	Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.
Ors.	*Oriens*, Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research, Leiden.
P.E.W.	*Philosophy East and West*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
Ph.St.	*Philippine Studies*, Manila.
P.O.C.	*Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem.
P.P.J.	*The Pakistan Philosophical Journal*, The Pakistan Philosophical Congress, Lahore.
P.S.B.	*The Princeton Seminary Bulletin*, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J.
R. and S.	*Religion and Society*, Bulletin of the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Bangalore, India.
R.E.I.	*Revue des études islamiques*, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
Rel.	*Religion*, Journal of Religion and Religions, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London and Boston.
Resp.	*Response*, Board of Missions of the United Methodist Church, Cincinnati, Ohio.
R.H.P.R.	*Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, Strasbourg.
R.H.R.	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
R.I.E.I.	*Revista del Instituto du Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, Madrid.
R.M.	*Rythmes du Monde*, Le Bulletin des missions, Paris et Bruges.
R.R.	*The Review of Religions*, Rabwah.

R.S.R.	*Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, Strasbourg.
R.W.	*Reformed World*, World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Geneva.
Saec.	*Saeculum*, Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte, Munchen.
S.E.A.J.	*The South East Asia Journal of Theology*, Singapore.
S.I.	*Studies in Islam*, Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, New Delhi.
S.J.	*Silliman Journal*, Quarterly devoted to discussion and investigation in the Humanities and the Sciences, Dumaguete City, Philippines.
Spec.	*Speculum*, A Journal of Mediaeval Studies, Cambridge, Mass.
S.P.N.C.	*Secretariatus pro non-Christianis*, Città del Vaticano.
St. in C.R.	*Studies in Comparative Religion*, Tomorrow Publications, Ltd., Bedfont, Middlesex, England.
St.Isl.	*Studia Islamica*, Paris.
Th.	*Theology*, London.
V.I.	*The Voice of Islam*, Karachi.
W.I.	*Die Welt des Islams*, Brill, Leiden.
W.M.	*Worldmission*, New York.
W.V.	*Worldview*, Council on Religion and International Affairs, New York.
Z.D.M.G.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Wiesbaden.
Z.M.R.W.	*Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, Aschendorff, Munster.
Z.R.G.G.	*Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte*, Brill, Köln.
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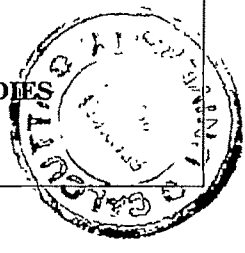
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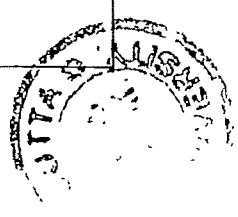
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IN THIS ISSUE

The question of the significance of St. Thomas Aquinas to the history of 'Western' thinking about Islam remains a rather controversial issue. Dr. James Waltz (Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Mich.) examines Thomas's "attitudes toward, sources of his knowledge of, and the significance of his works concerning Islam and Muslims." Dr. Waltz has previously contributed articles as well as book reviews to *M.W.*

Three authors appear in our pages for the first time :

Dr. Hadia Dajani-Shakeel (University of Toronto, Canada), in her study of "Jihād in Twelfth-Century Arabic Poetry : A Moral and Religious Force to Counter the Crusades" concludes that "the twelfth century gave Jerusalem a permanent position in Arabic poetry and literature, a permanency tested in the appeal of twelfth-century motifs to twentieth-century poets."

Mr. Jørgen S. Nielsen (American University of Beirut, Lebanon), concentrating primarily on the early Mamluk period, discusses the *maẓālim*, one of the secular remedies adopted "to circumvent, supplement, or adapt the sharī'a, and the *dār al-'adl*, the institution created in the twelfth century to house the maẓālim."

Dr. Clinton Bailey (Tel Aviv University, Israel) brings to our attention the Bedouin image of the term *'adl* as justice.

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MUḤAMMAD AND THE MUSLIMS IN ST. THOMAS AQUINAS *

Although M.-D. Chenu proposed, twenty-five years ago, research on "Islam and Christendom" based on the *Summa contra Gentiles* (hereafter *SCG*), the vast literature devoted to St. Thomas Aquinas contains very few works concerning him and Muslims, and most of these consider the impact of Islamic philosophy upon his thought. [1] The present paper is unconcerned with Thomas' philosophical debt to Muslim thinkers; instead, it seeks to follow Chenu's suggestion, and to stimulate further investigation of the topic, by examining Thomas' attitudes toward, sources of his knowledge of, and the significance of his works concerning Islam and Muslims.

Some may object that Thomas was not concerned with Islam and concur with Norman Daniel, the leading authority on the medieval Christian 'image' of Islam, that Thomas "can scarcely be counted among writers on the religion of Islam," but the evidence cited on the following pages should dispel those objections. [2] Moreover, most scholars agree Thomas wrote the *SCG* in response to Ramón of

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* An earlier version of this paper was given at the 1974 annual meeting of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters.

[1] Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Introduction à l'étude de Saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Montréal: Institut d'études médiévales de l'université de Montréal, 1950), tr. A.-M. Landry and D. Hughes, *Toward Understanding Saint Thomas* (Chicago: H. Regnery, 1964), p. 295. P. Mandonnet and J. Destrez, *Bibliographie Thomiste*, 2d ed. rev. by M.-D. Chenu (Paris: J. Vrin, 1960), has but two entries under the heading "Les Arabes et S. Thomas"; Vernon J. Bourke, *Thomistic Bibliography* (St. Louis: The Modern Schoolman [supplement to Vol. XXI], 1945) has eighteen. Almost all treat the philosophical impact, as do other items under the heading "Averroism." No count has been made of items listed in *Bulletin Thomiste* since 1940. *SCG* citations are from Anton C. Pegis, tr., *On the Truth of the Catholic Faith* (*Summa Contra Gentiles*), I (Garden City: Hanover House, 1955).

[2] M. M. Gorce, "La lutte 'contra Gentiles' à Paris au XIII[e] siècle," in *Mélanges Mandonnet* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1930), I, 223-243, held the *SCG* was not at all concerned with Muslims. Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960, 1962), p. 336, n. 25.

Peñafort's request for a "work against the errors of unbelievers," particularly Muslims, and a lesser work (ignored by Daniel), *De rationibus fidei contra Saracenos, Graecos et Armenos*, at the request of a cantor of Antioch, probably writing on behalf of his Dominican bishop, Elias. [3] Those works, and comments in the *Summa theologica*, provide ample testimony for our purposes.

Thomas' purpose in the *SCG* was the twofold task of a "wise man": "to meditate and speak forth of the divine truth... and to refute the opposing error" (I, 1; cf. I, 2); hence he explained that some divine truth is accessible to human reason and some surpasses it, that the latter type is confirmed by supernatural works (I, 6) and that humans must believe both (I, 4-5). He then proceeded to contrast Christianity and Islam. He claimed Christianity, like the philosophers who sought to "lead men from the pleasure of sensible things to virtue," promises spiritual and eternal goods, and unlike the "Old Law" preaches many truths that transcend human reason, thereby admitting divine inspiration and curbing "presumption, which is the mother of error" (I, 5). Miracles "and not the violent assault of arms or the promise of pleasures" attested the truth of divinely inspired spokesmen; "truths are preached that surpass every human intellect; the pleasures of the flesh are curbed; it is taught that the things of this world should be spurned," exactly as God had foretold "through many pronouncements of the ancient prophets,"

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[3] The *locus classicus* for the occasion of the *SCG* is the early fourteenth-century chronicle of Peter Marsilio, *De gestis Jacobi I, regis Aragonum*; translated by Pegis in *On the Truth of the Catholic Faith*, I, 20-21.

> Furthermore, strongly desiring the conversion of unbelievers, Raymond [of Peñafort] asked an outstanding Doctor of Sacred Scripture, a Master in Theology, Brother Thomas of Aquino of the same Order, who among all the clerics of the world was considered in philosophy to be, next to Brother Albert, the greatest, to compose a work against the errors of unbelievers, by which both the cloud of darkness might be dispelled and the teaching of the true Sun might be made manifest to those who refuse to believe. The renowned Master accomplished what the humility of so great a Father asked, and composed a work called the Summa Contra Gentiles, held to be without equal in its field.

De rationibus fidei is listed by I. T. Eschmann, "A Catalogue of St. Thomas's Works," in Étienne Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas*, tr. L. K. Shook (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 419; but not by Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 398, where it should appear. I have used S. E. Fretté and P. Maré, *D. Thomae Aquinatis Opera Omnia* (Paris: L. Vivès, 1872-1888), XXVII, 128-142; translations which follow are mine. A lengthy, and little-known, examination of the work's thought is Martin Grabmann, "Die Schrift: *De rationibus fidei contra Saracenos, Graecos et Armenos ad cantorem Antiochenum*, des Heiligen Thomas von Aquin," *Scholastik, Vierteljahrsschrift für Theologie und Philosophie*, XVII (1942), 187-216.

whose books Christians venerate. Thomas then presented the following account of Muḥammad and his teaching :

> On the other hand, those who founded sects committed to erroneous doctrines proceeded in a way that is opposite to this. The point is clear in the case of Mohammed. He seduced the people by promises of carnal pleasure to which the concupiscence of the flesh goads us. His teaching also contained precepts that were in conformity with his promises, and he gave free rein to carnal pleasure. In all this, as is not unexpected, he was obeyed by carnal men. As for proofs of the truth of his doctrine, he brought forward only such as could be grasped by the natural ability of anyone with a very modest wisdom. Indeed, the truths that he taught he mingled with many fables and with doctrines of the greatest falsity. He did not bring forth any signs produced in a supernatural way, which alone fittingly gives witness to divine inspiration; for a visible action that can be only divine reveals an invisibly inspired teacher of truth. On the contrary, Mohammed said that he was sent in the power of his arms —which are signs not lacking even to robbers and tyrants. What is more, no wise men, men trained in things divine and human, believed in him from the beginning. Those who believed in him were brutal men and desert wanderers, utterly ignorant of all divine teaching, through whose numbers Mohammed forced others to become his followers by the violence of his arms. Nor do divine pronouncements on the part of preceding prophets offer him any witness. On the contrary, he perverts almost all the testimonies of the Old and New Testaments by making them into fabrications of his own, as can be seen by anyone who examines his law. It was, therefore, a shrewd decision on his part to forbid his followers to read the Old and New Testaments, lest these books convict him of falsity. It is thus clear that those who place any faith in his words believe foolishly (I, 6).

It is apparent that Thomas did not seek to give an objective or sympathetic account of Muḥammad and his teaching; indeed, he said nothing about its content but focused instead upon its hearers, its forms and its proofs, all of which served to discredit it. Many of Muḥammad's hearers were indeed nomads, and the ferocious intertribal warfare of pre-Islamic Arabia was often brutal; but many other Arabs were city dwellers, more or less distinctly removed from nomadic life, and Arabs had no monopoly on seventh-century

brutality. However, the brutality which concerned Thomas was the animal-like addiction to "carnal pleasure," abhorrent to those vowed to celibacy yet redolent of the lust and sensuality of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. [4] The alleged ignorance and stupidity of his hearers further discredited Muḥammad: "no wise men... believed in him"; instead his hearers were "utterly ignorant of all divine teaching," demonstrated his falsity by their stupidity, and showed their foolishness by believing in him. Clearly, "wise" Christians who shunned sensual pleasures were vastly superior to such Muslims.

In discussing the form of Muḥammad's teaching, Thomas allowed that Muḥammad taught some truths, apparently very simple ones accessible to the natural reason (such as monotheism, which he knew Muslims believed). But he focused on Muḥammad's mingling false and fabulous doctrines with those few truths, his perversion of the Old and New Testaments and his prohibition of the reading of them, which suggests that Thomas knew something of the Muslim claim that the Qur'ān perfects and supersedes the earlier revelations. He emphasized, however, that Muḥammad "seduced" (note the sexual imagery again) his hearers by giving "free rein" to carnal pleasure here on earth and promising similar pleasure eternally in paradise, a possible allusion to Islam's permission of polygamy and a certain indication of his knowledge that Muslims "hold that in the resurrection men will have use for food and sexual pleasure as they do now" (IV, 83). Sorely troubled by that hedonistic teaching, Thomas attacked it several times: objecting that such a "fable" attracted only brutes and nomads, complaining that the felicity which is virtue's reward does not consist in pleasures of the flesh as Jews and Muslims taught (III, 27), and lamenting that the emphasis on fleshly pleasures impeded contemplation—man's closest approach to God.

But most serious for Thomas was the lack of proofs supporting Muḥammad's teachings. His assertion that previous prophets had not foretold Muḥammad's coming may be directed against the Muslim claim that Jesus had predicted Muḥammad's prophetic mission. [5]

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[4] Discussions of pre-Islamic poetry, with representative selections, appear in Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1930), chapters 2 and 3, and Arthur J. Arberry, *Aspects of Islamic Civilization* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964), chapter 1. Seventh-century Arab social structure is enlighteningly examined by William Montgomery Watt, *Islam and the Integration of Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1961).

[5] S. 61:6 says Jesus promised a messenger to come after him, whose name is the praised one (Aḥmad, which equals Muḥammad). The parallel with the Christian Gospel

More importantly, unlike a "true" prophet, Muḥammad performed no miracles; instead, he relied on military might, used also by "robbers and tyrants," to force others to become his followers, and gave only natural reasons to attest the truth of his teaching. Similar shortcomings characterized earlier "false" prophets and Daniel notes that in Thomas' extended treatment of prophecy (III, 154) "all the points we have seen applied to Muhammad are to be found, although he does not explicitly admit that the thought of Muhammad was in his mind at all." [6]

Although Aldobrandino Malvezzi rightly noted the importance of this *SCG* chapter for showing such a great man's knowledge of and opinion regarding Islam, it is difficult to agree with Daniel's judgment that "sexuality and violence... was the sum of the impression of Islam that St. Thomas Aquinas received." [7] Thomas knew more than that. He knew Muslims believed in one god, in a prophet, in a scripture which resembled the Old and New Testaments, and in a physical paradise. He also knew they rejected the authority of the Old and New Testaments and that Muḥammad claimed no miracles to "prove" his prophetic mission. And as already noted, it is possible to infer that he knew even more details of Islamic belief when he wrote the *SCG*. In the opening chapter of *De rationibus fidei*, he displayed acquaintance with other Islamic ideas and some Muslim objections to Christianity :

> Truly the Saracens deride us because we say Christ is the Son of God, when God had no wife; and they consider us madmen

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according to John 14.16, 26 is obvious; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 53 and notes p. 335.

[6] Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 72; his chapter II is entitled "Revelation : The Christian Attack upon 'Pseudoprophecy.'" The moral qualities of the prophet—love of metaphysical and religious truths; separation of conscience and heart from satisfaction of the senses, voluptuousness and brutal instincts; and complete renunciation of all ambitions and worldly glories—which inform Thomas' judgments were earlier expounded by Moses Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, tr. Shlomo Pines, 2 vols. (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1963), part II, chapter 36. For Maimonides, the second criterion was most important for determining a prophet's authenticity. A thorough examination of how Thomas incorporated and transcended the works of Maimonides, Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd in formulating his presentations of prophecy in *De veritate* 12; *Summa theologiae* II, ii, quaestiones 172-176; and *SCG* III, 154, is José María Casciaro Ramírez, *El dialogo teológico de Santo Tomás con musulmanes y judíos : el tema de la profecía y la revelación* (Madrid : Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto "Francisco Suárez," 1969) (Bibliotheca Hispana Biblica, 2).

[7] Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 145; Aldobrandino Malvezzi, *L'islamismo e la cultura europea* (Florence : Sansoni, 1956), p. 107.

> because we confess three persons in God, yet do not profess three gods. Also they deride our saying that Christ, the Son of God, was crucified for the salvation of humankind, because if God is omnipotent, He could save humankind without the passion of His Son, and He could fashion man so he could not sin. Again they blame the Christians because they eat their God on the altar, and because the body of Christ, even if it were so large as a mountain, ought by now to be consumed.... About the true merit which depends on free will, you assert both the Saracens and other nations attribute the necessity of human acts to divine foreknowledge or foreordination saying that man cannot die, nor even sin, unless God so ordained for man; and that every individual has his outcome written upon his brow.

The last sentence accurately presents orthodox Islamic predestination doctrine as well as the more popular belief in fate (*kismet*). And the first three fairly state Muslim views on the Christian doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, Crucifixion, Atonement and Transubstantiation —issues in Christian-Muslim disputations and disagreements from the early years of Islamic advance. It appears unlikely that Thomas knew the disputation literature directly, although John of Damascus, whom he often cites, gave guidelines for disputations and composed a tract, "On the Heresy of the Ishmaelites," which Thomas may have read and used. [8] But he certainly knew the basic issues in Christian-Muslim relations.

However, Thomas' knowledge, although more extensive than Daniel suggests, was yet severely limited. He himself confessed his inadequate knowledge of "the sacrilegious remarks of individual men who have erred" (I, 2). He could not consult the sharī'a or ḥadīth which embody Islamic law, he certainly manifests no knowledge of Islamic history, and, despite his claim that Muḥammad's perversions and fabrications

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[8] On Islamic fatalism see William Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam* (London : Luzac, 1948). The standard authority on Byzantine theological controversy with Islam is now Adel-Théodore Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam : Textes et Auteurs (VIIIe-XIIIe s.)*, 2d ed. (Louvain and Paris : Nauwelaerts, 1969; and *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIIIe-XIIIe S.)*, 2d ed. (Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1972); a brief overview of those detailed studies is his *Der theologische Streit der Byzantiner mit dem Islam* (Paderborn : Schöningh, 1969), also available in French. The arguments of Armand Abel, "Le chapitre CI du *Livre des Hérésies* de Jean Damascène : son inauthenticité," *Studia Islamica*, XIX (1963), 5-25, are convincingly refuted by Daniel Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam : The "Heresy of the Ishmaelites"* (Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1972), who presents John as very knowledgeable about Islam.

"can be seen by anyone who examines his law," there is no evidence that he ever read the Qur'ān, although Latin translations were available. [9] Whence, then, did he obtain his knowledge?

The circumstances of his life and times offered several possibilities. He grew up in the lands of, and in a family noted for its outstanding service to, the Emperor Frederick II, whose army boasted Muslim soldiers and whose court supported Muslim scholars. Next he studied at the University of Naples, an imperial foundation enriched by products of Islamic scholarship. At Paris he encountered and closely followed al-Farābī's theological formulations, critically reinterpreted Ibn Rushd's (Averroës) Aristotelianism and gained knowledge of other Muslim philosophers either directly or through his teachers; he apparently considered such thinkers neither brutes and nomads nor ordinary, devout Muslims. [10] He might have tapped a growing

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[9] For medieval European knowledge of Islam see, in addition to Daniel, *Islam and the West*; Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell'Islam in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944) (Studi e Testi, 110); Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Age," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 22-23 années (1947-1948), 69-131; R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962); and the Spoleto symposium on *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo*, 2 vols. (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1965) (Settimane di Studio XII).

[10] Thomas' early years are presented in unusual fulness in James A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino* (New York: Doubleday, 1974), pp. 5-20; one of Thomas' brothers accompanied Emperor Frederick II on the "crusade" of 1228-1229. On the Muslim soldiers see I. Egidi, "La colonia saracena di Lucera e la sua distruzione," *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, XXXVI (1911), and for Muslim scholars Charles H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1924), pp. 242-271; and Martin Grabmann, "Kaiser Frederick II und sein Verhältnis zur aristotelischen und arabischen Philosophie," in his *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben: Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik*, II (Munich: M. Hueber, 1936), 103-137. Robert Hammond, *The Philosophy of Al Farabi and its Influence on Medieval Thought* (New York: Hobson Book Press, 1947) gives extensive citations in parallel columns from al-Fārābī and Thomas showing the latter's almost verbatim dependence on the former; those citations are reproduced more accessibly in Eugene A. Myers, *Arabic Thought and the Western World in the Golden Age of Islam* (New York: Ungar, 1964). Casciaro, *El dialogo teológico*, also offers many parallel-columned comparisons of Thomas' and an Islamicate philosopher's (or Maimonides') treatment of a prophecy topic; he sees Thomas progressing from a close dependence on them in *De veritate* to a relatively independent position going well beyond them in *Summa theologiae*, but says little about Thomas' presentation in *SCG*. Ernest Renan, *Averroes et l'Averroisme* (Paris: A. Durand, 1852) turned Western attention toward the Muslim philosopher; J. Guttmann later considered *Der Einfluss der maimonidischen Philosophie auf das christliche Abendland* (Leipzig: Fock, 1908). Recent summaries of a century's scholarship are Fernand van Steenberghen, *Aristotle*

knowledge of Islamic literature and legend which benefited Dante Alighieri and a growing dissatisfaction with crusades as a means of dealing with Muslims. And his missionary correspondents may also have supplied Thomas with much information about the Muslims and their errors. [11]

None of the aforementioned possibilities, however, really appears decisive, especially for a scholar who habitually relied on the written word as an authoritative source. What Thomas needed was a concise summary of Muslim beliefs and ideas, preferably with some Christian reaction to them. And exactly such a summary was available to him in the *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*, prepared by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, in the mid-twelfth century. Peter had

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in the West: *The Origins of Latin Aristotelianism* (French original Louvain: Éditions de l'Institut supérieur de philosophie, Université de Louvain, 1946; English translation Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1955) and Francis E. Peters, *Aristotle and the Arabs: the Aristotelian Tradition in Islam* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1968), who (p. 222) notes the contrast between Thomas' harsh judgments on Islam and openness to Islamicate philosophers.

[11] Key works on the thorny problem of Islamic influences on Dante are Miguel Asín Palacios, *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia* (Madrid: E. Maestre, 1919), Eng. tr. Harold Sunderland, *Islam and the Divine Comedy* (London: J. Murray, 1926), and Enrico Cerulli, *Il 'Libro della Scala' e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia* (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1949) (Studi e Testi, 150). Dissatisfaction with crusades is amply documented in Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1940). Although we do not know what Ramón of Peñafort wrote to Thomas, some account of major points in Christian-Muslim confrontation probably accompanied his request; it certainly formed part of the Antiochene cantor's missive, for Thomas, in listing the points at issue, twice uses the expression "you assert." Perhaps Ramón Martí shared insights from his Semitic studies and knowledge of things Islamic with Thomas; a letter of Ivo Pinsard, prior of the convent of Santiago in Paris, to Joseph de Voisin, editor of Martí's *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos* (Paris: Henault, 1651; 2d ed., Leipzig: F. Lanckis, 1687) and printed therein, asserts both were friends and fellow students of Albert the Great. And possibly personal relationships and correspondence rather than formal writings conveyed the influence of Martí on Thomas hypothesized by Miguel Asín Palacios, "El averroismo teológico de Santo Tomás de Aquino," *Homenaje a Don Francisco Codera* (Zaragoza: M. Escar, 1904), pp. 271-331, and contested by Luis G. Alonso Getino, *La "Summa contra Gentes" y el "Pugio fidei" (Carta sin sobre a Don Miguel Asín Palacios)* (Vergara, Tip. de "El Santísimo Rosario," 1905), and José María Llovera in an address on Martí delivered to the 1929 Congreso de la Asociación para el Progreso de las Ciencias and summarized in Tomás y Joaquín Carreras Artau, *Historia de la filosofía española: Filosofía cristiana de los siglos XIII al XV* (Madrid: Real Academia de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, 1939), I, 147-170.

initiated a large-scale translation project to make the Qur'ān and other Arabic-language works useful for understanding and opposing Islam available in Latin. He relied heavily upon them, particularly the *Apology* of al-Kindī, a ninth-century work, in composing the *Summa*. His work marked a considerable advance in Latin Christian knowledge of Islam and Muslims, and by using it Thomas incorporated the most accurate information available in his own writings. [12]

Although verbatim parallels between the *Summa* and *SCG* I, 6 are rare, the identity of themes and treatment is striking and persuasive. Peter depicted a paradise of eating and drinking and sensual satisfaction mirrored in Thomas' references to it and remarked that Muḥammad, to "more easily attract to himself the carnal minds of men... loosed the reins on gluttony and impurity"—a close parallel to Thomas' "he gave free rein to carnal pleasure." He termed the Arabs "barbarians," "simple and uninstructed" and "ignorant of both the divine and the human law"; hence Muḥammad's preaching which "accorded with their reason" easily led them astray and mingled "good things, mixing truth in with falsity." Taught the scriptures by a Nestorian monk and some Jews, Muḥammad, said Peter, "wove together... a diabolical scripture," at the same time taking over and rejecting the Old and New Testaments and preventing his followers from consulting them by "the iron barrier of impiety." Peter believed that Muḥammad sought to become a king and pretended prophethood as a means to that end; thus he saw Muḥammad's prophetic claims following rather than preceding his first battles, and believed that Muḥammad and later Islam gained success, territory and subjects by force of arms. That kingship via prophecy argument is, for Kritzeck, "the most serious misconstruction in the *Summa*," and Peter's "essential error" is "regarding Mohammed's prophethood as postdating his first battles"; yet Thomas' claim that Muḥammad "was sent in the power of his arms," and "forced others to become his followers by the violence of his arms," seems to echo Peter though avoiding the grossness of his misstep. [13] It appears certain, then, that Thomas relied upon Peter's *Summa* in composing *SCG* I, 6.

The evidence is similarly good for the *Summa*'s role in Thomas' arguments in *De rationibus fidei*. Peter noted that Muslims worshiped

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[12] James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964) provides ample information and copious bibliography on all these topics; in addition, there is a newly edited text of the *Summa* on pp. 204-211 and most of it is either translated or paraphrased in Kritzeck's discussion of the work.

[13] Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, pp. 126-140, *passim*.

God but denied the Trinity of persons in the unity of the Godhead, and Kritzeck rightly observes that that was an immense advance over the common European view of Islam as a form of polytheism. He also knew that since the Muslims held that sexual intercourse was essential for fatherhood, Christ could not be the son of God. Moreover, he established the Muslim denial of the incarnation, atonement, crucifixion, and resurrection of Christ.[14] Thomas made the same points in chapter one of *De rationibus fidei*, as noted earlier, but also went beyond Peter's account; however, he explicitly attributed at least some of those added objections to information supplied by his correspondent.

In addition to those specific resemblances, Thomas, like Peter, seemed to regard Islam as a summation of Christian heresies. Peter wrote of Muḥammad "vomiting... almost all the dregs of the ancient heresies" and asserted he denied the trinity with Sabellius, Christ's divinity with Nestorius, and Christ's death with Mani. Thomas, in both *SCG* and *De rationibus fidei*, presented extensive summaries of orthodox arguments against earlier heretics, apparently in the belief that he was thereby providing relevant and practical help for his missionary correspondents.[15] Moreover, Thomas, again like Peter, sought in "the natural reason, to which all men are forced to give their assent" (I, 2) a common ground for discussion with Muslims, and with his Antiochene correspondent sought "moral and philosophical reasons which the Saracens accept" (c. 1). Through demonstrative arguments, Thomas believed, adversaries could be won to that natural truth "which faith professes and reason investigates" (I, 9). That willingness to consider Muslims amenable to reason made him, for Daniel, "the great but lonely exception" among his contemporaries; but Peter had adumbrated the same approach a century earlier.[16]

However, Thomas' use of reason was much more thoroughgoing. Starting from the premise that God is an intellect, he reasoned that the ultimate end of the universe must be the good of an intellect, namely truth. Therefore, he stated, the office and work of a wise man, which he was undertaking, was to meditate upon divine truth, teach it to others, and "refute the opposing falsehood," which is also

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[14] Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, pp. 117-119.

[15] Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, p. 136. The first thirty-six chapters of *SCG* IV refute the errors of eleven early heretics, including Arius and Theodore of Mopsuestia whose views resemble those held by Muslims.

[16] Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 55.

impiety (I, 1).[17] Divine truth, however, had both a natural component amenable to human reason and a revealed component surpassing the power of human reason; hence, "if our opponent believes nothing of divine revelation, there is no longer any means of proving the articles of faith by reasoning, but only of answering his objections—if he has any—against faith" (I, 9). And both those difficulties confronted Thomas:

> The sacrilegious remarks of individual men who have erred are not so well known to us so that we may use what they say as the basis of proceeding to a refutation of their errors, [and] some of them, such as the Mohammedans and the pagans, do not agree with us in accepting the authority of any Scripture, by which they may be convinced of their error (I, 2).

Thus, while it was possible to argue against the Jews from the Old Testament and against heretics from the New, "the Mohammedans and the pagans accept neither the one nor the other." Adversaries of revealed truth could be overcome by the authority of Scripture confirmed by miracles, but because Muslims did not accept the authority of Scripture, it would be useless to multiply scriptural quotations, as earlier Christian anti-Muslim writers did, and "vain to introduce authorities against those who do not accept authorities." "Likely arguments," however, could be used to train and console the faithful

> and not with an idea of refuting those who are adversaries. For the very inadequacy of the arguments would rather strengthen them in their error, since they would imagine that our acceptance of the truth of faith was based on such weak arguments (I, 9).

He repeated this explanation to his Antiochene correspondent, noting that "as it is not possible to prove our faith by necessary reasons because it surpasses the human mind, so to disprove it by necessary reason is impossible because of its truth," and taught that a Christian disputant should be ready not to prove, but to defend, the faith (c. 2).

In Thomas' day defense of the faith was not merely verbal. Scholars, churchmen and political leaders debated the propriety of the use of force against unbelievers. Crusades and crusading ideas still flourished,

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[17] Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, p. 141.

and conversion of Muslims to Christianity proceeded best where Christians held political control. Both the *SCG* and *De rationibus fidei* were intended primarily for use in lands where Christians exercised political authority over significant numbers of Muslims. That accorded with a position explained by Thomas in the *Summa theologica*:

> Among unbelievers there are some who have never received the faith, such as the heathens and the Jews: and these are by no means to be compelled to the faith, in order that they may believe, because to believe depends on the will: nevertheless they should be compelled by the faithful, if it be possible to do so, so that they do not hinder the faith by their blasphemies, or by their evil persuasions, or even by their open persecutions. It is for this reason Christ's faithful often wage war with unbelievers, not indeed for the purpose of forcing them to believe, because even if they were to conquer them, and take them prisoners, they should still leave them free to believe, if they will, but in order to prevent them from hindering the faith of Christ.
>
> On the other hand, there are unbelievers who at some time have accepted the faith, and professed it, such as heretics and all apostates: such should be submitted even to bodily compulsion, that they may fulfill what they have promised, and hold what they at one time received. [18]

Although permitting bodily compulsion against heretics and apostates, Thomas forbade its use against those who had never received the faith, holding they were not to be compelled to the faith or forced to believe. But war, if necessary, could be used to defend the faith against their blasphemies, lies and persecutions. Like the founder of his order, Thomas saw educated Christian leadership as the best defense against error and the best offense for missionary purposes.

In keeping with his position that reason can defend, but not prove, the faith, Thomas devoted the bulk of both the *SCG* and *De rationibus fidei* to exposition of Christian faith with no explicit reference to Muslim objections. His task was to argue for Christian truth without relying upon faith or appealing to the dogmas of the church, but

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[18] *Summa theologica*, II, 1, q. 10, art. 8; tr. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1917), IX, 134-135.

rather using philosophical truth as a common ground from which to proceed. He performed that task remarkably well, for within forty years of his death Peter Marsilio claimed the *SCG* was "without equal in its field"; and although his contemporary, the Parisian Lullist Thomas le Myésier, criticized Thomas' refusal to use rational arguments to prove the Christian faith, Ramón Lull himself, the greatest medieval Christian missionary to Muslims, agreed with Thomas in permitting crusades to secure a free hearing for missionaries, deemphasizing disproof of Islam, and seeking to present Christianity rationally. And Demetrios Kydones, a Greek convert to Roman Catholicism, translated both the *SCG* and *De rationibus fidei* into Greek during the fourteenth century. [19]

Despite that testimony, some recent scholars dispute the purpose of the *SCG*. M. M. Gorce held that the Gentiles were Greek and Arab philosophers who studied at Paris and concluded that "it is not very easy to see what profit any but a few doctors or rabbis would gain from a work so scholarly and so difficult in its philosophy," while Fernand Van Steenberghen found it "clear that what St. Thomas wrote was a treatise of apologetical theology, for the use of men preparing to preach Christian doctrine among pagans, principally those in Moslem countries." M. D. Chenu concluded that the *SCG* was pertinent both to the apologetic requirements of missionary activity and the intellectual crisis produced by Muslim-transmitted Greek science and philosophy, and he thought that study of the *SCG* should stimulate research on Islam and Christendom and contribute to the development of dialogue. [20]

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[19] For Peter Marsilio see n. 3 above. Thomas le Myésier was a student at Paris in the 1280s, shortly after Thomas' death; he died in 1336. His remarks and those of Lull are given in J. N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 260, n. 378, and p. 25, respectively. Lull's views are well known; it is Hillgarth's linking them with those of Thomas which is significant. Moreover Hillgarth considers the influence of Ramón of Peñafort on Lull decisive; he was

> the stimulus to three leaders in the thirteenth century mission to Muslims —Thomas, Lull and Ramón Martini [Martí], whose *Explanatio symboli* (1257) and *Pugio fidei* (1278) attempted to provide a rational apologetic for Christianity, as did *SCG*—and the impetus for a new direction in medieval Christian efforts away from crusading to missionary activity (p. 5).

[20] Gorce, "La lutte," (n. 2 above) held the *SCG* was not inspired by Ramón of Peñafort but rather by Pope Alexander IV and that it was not at all concerned with Muslims. He was decisively opposed by D. Salman, "Sur la lutte 'contra Gentiles' de s. Thomas," *Divus Thomas*, XL (1937), 488-509. Van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the*

Thomas Ohm contended nearly forty years ago that Thomas' contributions are even more valuable for modern times than for his own. Thomas' works were then being widely used to train both missionaries and indigenous clergy in mission lands, and heartily recommended to confront contemporary philosophical "gentiles." [21] Today increasing knowledge of one faith by the other's followers and greater awareness of the history of Christian-Muslim relations are producing meaningful dialogue in which persons of both faiths, in the words of Vatican II's statement on non-Christian religions, "strive sincerely for mutual understanding." [22] Since the points at

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West. pp. 193-196, briefly recounts the controversy and offers his own judgment. Chenu, *Introduction à l'étude de Saint Thomas*, pp. 289-292, 295-296; his entire chapter X is devoted to *SCG*.

[21] Thomas Ohm, "Thomas von Aquin und die Heiden- und Mohammedanermissionen," in Albert Lang, *et al.*, eds., *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters: Studien und Texte Martin Grabmann zur Vollendung des 60 Lebensjahres von Freunden und Schülern gewidmet* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters: Texte und Untersuchungen*, Supplementband III) (Münster i.W., Aschendorff, 1935), 735-748; the statements occur on pp. 739-741. Grabmann thought *De rationibus fidei* showed Thomas a man for all times; "Die Schrift...," 216. The application to contemporary "gentiles" was made in the 1938 Aquinas lecture at Marquette University by Mortimer J. Adler, *St. Thomas and the Gentiles* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1943).

[22] "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions" given at Rome on October 28, 1965, and translated by Joseph Gallagher in Walter M. Abbott, ed., *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: Association Press, 1966). Attention to the declaration's position on Jews has so overshadowed its statement on Muslims (section 3) that its full citation may be useful here, as a measure of how far understanding has improved since Thomas' day:

> Upon the Moslems, too, the Church looks with esteem. They adore one God, living and enduring, merciful and all-powerful, Maker of heaven and earth and Speaker to men. They strive to submit wholeheartedly even to His inscrutable decrees, just as did Abraham, with whom the Islamic faith is pleased to associate itself. Though they do not acknowledge Jesus as God, they revere Him as a prophet. They also honor Mary, His virgin mother; at times they call on her, too, with devotion. In addition they await the day of judgment when God will give each man his due after raising him up. Consequently, they prize the moral life, and give worship to God especially through prayer, almsgiving, and fasting.
>
> Although in the course of the centuries many quarrels and hostilities have arisen between Christians and Moslems, this most sacred Synod urges all to forget the past and to strive sincerely for mutual understanding. On behalf of all mankind, let them make common cause of safeguarding and fostering social justice, moral values, peace, and freedom (Abbott, ed., p. 663).
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> [Ed. note: Father Julius Basetti-Sani discussed the statement of Vatican II with regard to Islam in *M.W.*, LVII (1967), 126-137, 186-196.]

issue and the arguments about them remain similar if not identical to those of Thomas' day, his rational presentation of Christian faith still merits study. And both Christians and Muslims in contemporary dialogue could fruitfully use as their motto these words of Hilary which guided Thomas' life and work: "I am aware that I owe this to God as the chief duty of my life, that my every word and sense may speak of him." [23]

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[23] Hilary of Poitiers, *De Trinitate*, I, 37; cited in Pegis, tr., *SCG*, I, 2.

JIHĀD IN TWELFTH-CENTURY ARABIC POETRY: A MORAL AND RELIGIOUS FORCE TO COUNTER THE CRUSADES

"As a source of literary themes, Palestine is rivalled by no other issue in modern Arabic literature. For more than 50 years, since the Balfour declaration of 1917, it has engaged the attention of a growing number of poets, dramatists, novelists, literary critics and other writers." [1] This observation, referring to the prominent place that Palestine occupies in modern Arabic literature, seems to be valid also for a much earlier period, covering about two hundred years of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the Muslims lost Palestine and the Syrian coast to the Crusaders. This loss generated a feeling of belonging among the refugees from Palestine and Syria in particular, and among the Muslims in general. It led to the emergence of a literature related to the *jihād*, which was unmatched in the variety of themes by any earlier period. This is not to belittle the importance of the famous *Rūmiyyāt* of al-Mutanabbī in praise of the heroic achievements of Sayf al-Dawla against the Byzantines, nor of Abū Tammām's *Fatḥ ʿAmmūriyya*, eulogizing the military victory of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim against the Byzantines in A.D. 838. This body of jihād poetry was in fact a source of inspiration for twelfth-century poetry which, in turn, inspired modern poets.

In this connection, it is perhaps not inappropriate to note in passing that there is, between the medieval and the modern poetry on the Palestine theme, not only the expected parallelism of subject matter and symbolism but also a conscious and deliberate imitation of the style of the medievals by some of the moderns. This can be seen in a poem composed by the Lebanese poet Shakīb Arsalān: *Buḥayrat Ṭabariyya* (the Battle of Ḥiṭṭīn), [2] imitating ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī's poem on the same subject. Similarity is also found in the poems of Aḥmad Shawqī: *Nakbat Dimashq* and *al-Andalus al-Jadīd*. [3] Ṣalāḥ

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[1] Ṣalīḥ al-Ṭuʿma, "The Treatment of the Palestinian Conflict in Modern Arabic Literature," *Middle East Forum*, XLVIII (1972), 7.

[2] Ṣalīḥ al-Ṭuʿma, "Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī fī 'l-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī," *Al-Ādāb*, XI (1970), 18-19.

[3] *Ibid.*, 17-18.

al-Dīn, the hero and deliverer of Islam in the twelfth century, earns a very high place in modern Arabic poetry. Al-Ṭu'ma counts at least fifty-one modern poets who have alluded in their poetry to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn or made him the subject of their poems.[4] References to Jerusalem, to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, to Nūr al-Dīn, to the Battle of Ḥiṭṭīn, and to the Crusaders echo and re-echo in modern poetry.

This article investigates the role of twelfth-century Arabic poetry in reflecting on and guiding the Muslim struggle against the Crusaders at various stages, from the earliest reactions of the Muslims on their defeat in the year A.D. 1099 to the gradual awakening resulting from the socio-psychological and military build-up of the Muslim forces to counter the Crusades' threat between 1099 and 1187 and the final recovery of Jerusalem by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1187. Moreover, this study seeks to assess the impact of the Crusades and of the jihād on the emergence of new forms, genres and themes, particularly the theme of Jerusalem. Three representative poets are examined—Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Abīwardī, Ibn al-Qaysarānī, and 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī—but reference is made to others wherever deemed necessary.

The jihād theme in twelfth-century Arabic poetry is expressed mainly in the panegyrics, the most popular kind of poetry at that time; in the elegies; in the *Muwashshaḥ*,[5] which was popularized in Egypt by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk; as well as in the *dubyit* (or *al-rubā'ī*), most probably introduced by the Persian poet 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī. The latter poet composed several dubyits (or rubā'iyyāt) on the theme of jihād for Nūr al-Dīn Zangī, some of which are preserved in Abū Shāma's *Kitāb al-Rawḍataym*.[6] Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a indicates that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's Spanish physician and poet, Abū al-Faḍl al-Jilyānī, composed some dubyits,[7] but none of them is available to the present writer. To the various kinds of poems cited above, one can also add a few of a hortatory nature composed during the early stage of the jihād and the ascetic type of poetry which also reflected on the jihād.

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[4] *Ibid.*, 17.

[5] 'Umar Bāshā, *Al-Adab fī Bilād al-Shām* (Damascus: al-Maktaba al-'Abbāsiyya, 1972), p. 556. Also see Muḥammad I. Naṣr, *Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk* (Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-'Arabī, 1967), p. 143.

[6] 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maqdisī Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍataym fī Akhbār al-Dawlataym al-Nūriyya wa 'l-Ṣalāḥiyya* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Lajnat al-Ta'līf wa 'l-Tarjama wa 'l-Nashr, 1962), I, 528. Also see Bāshā, *Al-Adab*, p. 575.

[7] Bāshā, *Al-Adab*, p. 575.

The available poetry reflecting on the earliest Muslim reactions to the Crusaders' victories is limited. It represents individual efforts by some poets in Iraq and Syria who tried to incite the rulers and the people to counterattack and declare jihād. It also reflects the response of those poets to the Crusaders' invasion, their vision of its future impact on the Muslim communities, and their concept of the jihād. Apparently, the first poem on the jihād was composed by Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Abīwardī, a jurist and poet of Ummayyad descent who was born in Abīward and lived in Baghdad. [8] He wrote his poem almost one month after the fall of Jerusalem, in Ramaḍān, 492/August, 1099. Ibn al-Athīr reports that refugees from Syria had arrived in Baghdad during that month. Among them was the Syrian Qāḍī Abū Sa'd al-Harawī. "They told the Caliph's ministers a story that wrung their hearts and brought tears to their eyes." [9] On Friday, they went to the main mosque in Baghdad and begged for help. They wept so much while describing the sufferings of the Muslims in the Holy City—the men killed, the women and children taken prisoners, their homes destroyed—that their audience wept also. It was on this occasion that Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Abīwardī composed the poem under discussion. Although he wrote several poems describing the plight of the Muslims as told by the refugees, this particular poem is the only one available. [10]

The poet begins by reflecting on the anguish that pervaded the disunited and weakened lands of Islam.

> We have mingled blood with flowing tears, and there is no room left in us for pity.
> To shed tears is a man's worst weapon when the swords stir up the embers of war. [11]

He tries to play upon the feelings of his audience, thus inciting them to action against the Crusaders. Islam, as al-Abīwardī sees it, was humiliated and its very existence threatened :

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[8] Aḥmad b. Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary), trans. MacGuckin de Slane (New York, 1868), III, 444-445.

[9] Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Berkeley : University of California, 1969), p. 12. Also see 'Izz al-Dīn b. al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī 'l-Tārīkh* (Beirut : Dār Ṣādir, 1966), X, 284.

[10] Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 12.

[11] *Ibid.* Also see Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, X, 284-285.

This is war, and he who lies in the tomb at *Ṭība* (Medīna) seems to raise his voice and cry : 'O sons of Hāshim !'
I see my people slow to raise the lance against the enemy, while the pillars of the faith are tottering. [12]

Hence, the poet calls upon the Muslims to declare jihād for the defence of Islam and its followers and to check the Crusaders' expansion. Such a jihād should match the Crusaders' attack in strength and severity; it should be one in which all Muslims—Arabs and non-Arabs—are obliged to participate. Al-Abīwardī's vision of Islam and of jihād is reinforced by other poets, Ibn al-Khayyāṭ and an anonymous one—both Syrian. The anonymous poet says :

Atheism has inflicted upon Islam such damage that the faith will be lamented for a long time.
Don't we owe God and Islam an obligation ? Answer the call of God; woe unto you; answer His call. [13]

Ibn al-Khayyāṭ points out that the Crusaders came from Europe —*arḍ Ifranjah*—like a torrent, having unlimited resources, with the intent to conquer the East, and they had not met any opposition until then :

Until when [you will remain inactive], while the polytheists have swelled [your country] like a torrent, that would overflood the sea. From the lands of the Franks armies have raged like [falling] mountains. [14]

The image of the Crusaders and the spirit of the jihād as expressed in the poetry of the period is further corroborated in 1099 by the jurist 'Alī b. Ṭāhir al-Sulamī in his *Kitāb al-Jihād*, the first treatise written on the jihād. In it, al-Sulamī identifies the Crusades as organized and coordinated Western expeditions against Islam, which had started in Spain and Sicily and expanded to include the East at a time of disunity and political chaos, with Jerusalem as their ultimate goal. The author makes it clear that Jerusalem would be

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[12] Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 12. Also see Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, X, 285.

[13] Jamāl al-Dīn b. Taghribardī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhira* (Cairo : Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub, 1939), V, 151-152.

[14] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Khayyāṭ, *Dīwān b. al-Khayyāṭ* (Damascus : Al-Majma' al-'Arabī, 1958), p. 184.

the focus of the struggle between the Crusaders and the Muslims, and he appeals to the Muslims to defend their faith and its holy places. Al-Sulamī, on the basis of a 'tradition,' predicts that the Muslims will gain control of Jerusalem, but only after some time has elapsed. [15]

This treatise, together with the poems, reflect a far greater awareness on the part of Muslims of the underlying motives of the Crusades than what some modern historians give them credit for. [16] Claude Cahen, for example, writes :

> The precise motivation of the Crusades could not occur to the Muslim mind. Muslims obviously saw that they were dealing with Christian warriors who as such were attacking Islam, but apart from the distance from which they came, they saw in them roughly the equivalent of the Byzantines whose Christian inspired attacks they had been sustaining for centuries. [17]

The second theme of al-Abīwardī's poem is that of the bereaved Muslim population. He notes :

> How can the eye sleep between the lids at a time of disasters that would waken any sleeper ?
> While your Syrian brothers can only sleep on the backs of their chargers, or in vultures' bellies !
> . . . . . .
> When blood has been spilt, when sweet girls must for shame hide their lovely faces in their hands !
> When the white swords' points are red with blood, and the iron of the brown lances is stained with gore ! [18]

This plight of the Muslims was the subject of several poems written during that time. For example, Ibn al-Khayyāṭ writes :

> Defend your religion, your sanctuaries and your women folk.
> With the defense of one who does not see death a loss. [19]

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[15] Emmanuel Sivan, "La genèse de la contre-croisade : un traité Damasquin du début du XII[e] siècle," *Journal Asiatique*, XXLIV (1966), 207, 210, 211.

[16] See Hans E. Mayer, *The Crusades* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 53.

[17] Claude Cahen, "The Crusades," *EI*[2], II, 64.

[18] Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 12.

[19] Ibn al-Khayyāṭ, *Dīwān*, p. 185.

He refers in this verse to martyrdom, the ultimate reward for participation in the jihād. The anonymous poet says :

> Could it be [possible] that Muslim women in every seaport are being captured,
> While Muslim men are enjoying their living ? [20]

The plight of women and children, a powerful theme in Arabic poetry, was one of the most evocative of Muslim sentiments.

The third theme in al-Abīwardī's poem is that of reproach and harsh criticism of the Muslim authorities, particularly the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustaẓhir billāh and his Sultan, Rukn al-Dīn Birkyārūq.

> Must the foreigners feed on our ignominy, while you trail behind you the train of a pleasant life, like men whose world is at peace ? [21]

This theme, which puts the blame of the Muslims' disaster on the shoulders of the Abbasid Caliph, is also expressed in all other available poems and by al-Sulamī. The Caliph was seen to have abandoned his community as well as his religious duties, particularly the jihād. Muslims had started to lose faith in him as their legitimate protector. While the Muslims in Syria and Iraq reproached him, the Fatimid poets took the opportunity to taunt him for his reluctance, boasting that while he, the Abbasid Caliph, failed his test in this holy cause against the infidels, the Fatimids, his opponents, carried on the jihād.

Eulogizing the Egyptian wazīr al-Afḍal, Umayya b. Abī al-Ṣalt alludes to the indifference of the Abbasids, saying :

> While the swords [of your opponents] were sheathed,
> You have unsheathed a sword with which the events and vicissitudes of fate are vanquished. [22]

Although this early type of poetry reflects the psychological impact of the defeat on the morale of the Muslims, it does not yield to despair. It is, instead, optimistic, full of hope and confidence. Al-Abīwardī reminds his audience of the glories of the Arabs and their successful achievements that carried them along with their religion

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[20] Ibn Taghribardī, *Al-Nujūm*, V, 151-152.

[21] Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 12. Also see Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, X, 285.

[22] Muḥammad K. Ḥusayn, *Fī Adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyya* (Cairo : Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1963), p. 267.

outside Arabia, inciting them to follow the example of their ancestors and particularly the Prophet. [23]

The Egyptian poet, Umayya b. Abī al-Ṣalt, whose patron, the wazīr al-Afḍal, was the only Muslim leader to launch war against the early Crusaders, apologizes for al-Afḍal's defeats. At the same time, however, he reminds his listeners and readers that although many a round of battle may yet be fought, his patrons (al-Afḍal and the Fatimids) will emerge victorious in the end. He believes that God will not abandon his religion :

> A return [to the battle] will be the more praiseworthy,
> and the days will guarantee the successful outcome.
> And God's promise is to be awaited.
> For fate might grieve you sometimes but at other times it will gladden you. [24]

The poetry of al-Abīwardī represents several typical characteristics of the period. It is oratorical, aimed at arousing his listeners to act. He alludes to the glorious deeds of the Muslims and the Arabs and to the Qur'anic teachings on certain aspects of the jihād.

> For fear of death the Muslims are evading the fire of the battle, refusing to believe that death will surely strike them. [25]

Although al-Abīwardī rebukes the Muslim authorities here, he refers to the verses which remind Muslims of their military duties :

> Let those fight in the way of Allāh who sell the life of this world for the other, whosoever fights in the way of Allāh, be he slain or be he victorious, on him we shall bestow a vast reward. [26]

He also evokes the memory of the Prophet and his jihād against the Meccan infidels. Being a jurist, he attempted to justify the jihād on the same grounds that the religion dictates, and he referred to the prescribed duties and obligations, rewards, and penalties.

In passing, it should be noted that one type of poetry, the *ḥanīn* or "longing"—which would have reflected the personal reaction to

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[23] Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, X, 286.

[24] Ḥusayn, *Fī Adab Miṣr*, p. 267.

[25] Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 12. Also see Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, X, 285.

[26] S. 4:74.

the loss of the country—is missing in this early period except for very few excerpts of poems said by poets from al-Ma'arra :

> Is it for death which has bereaved me with the loss of the brave relatives, or for the loss of property, or for the departure from the homeland ?
> I do not know for which of these should I weep. I wish I knew !
> Why does fate not leave me alone ? [27]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> This, my friend is a town, which God has doomed to destruction.
> Stop [your] camel ! and bewail with me its former residents : old and young.
> And remember, if you enter it one day, that it was the residence of the beloved ! [28]

The preceding discussion indicates that the earliest jihād poetry was limited in its scope and themes. However, it marked the genesis in the twelfth century of a long series of poetic works which became important in the development of religio-patriotic consciousness. The subject of Islam, emphazised in early twelfth-century poetry, remained central in later jihād poetry, while the themes of the bereaved population and reproach of authorities disappeared to give way to several new topics, such as Islamic unity, Jerusalem, and the Prophet Muḥammad, which emerged as a result of the changes in the situation on the political, military, and literary fronts between 1144 and 1187.

On the political and military fronts, this period is highlighted by the rise of 'Imād al-Dīn, Nūr al-Dīn Zangī, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The three jihadists' combined efforts supplemented each other and culminated in the recovery of Jerusalem under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Much has been said about the achievements of these leaders elsewhere. This article, as noted earlier, confines itself to a discussion of the role of poetry in reflecting on and guiding the main social trends of the period. A brief discussion of the general cultural awakening is, therefore, necessary.

The main religious-cultural characteristic of the period is the regeneration of Sunnism (orthodoxy), particularly under Nūr al-Dīn in Syria and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Egypt. This regeneration was the basic

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[27] 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr wa-Jarīdat Shu'arā' al-'Aṣr* (Damascus : al-Maṭba'a al-Hāshimiyya, 1959), II, 27.

[28] Ibn Taghrībardī, *Al-Nujūm*, V, 200. This type of poetry belongs to the tradition of Arabic elegiac poetry (*al-Marāthī*) now transposed to a new use.

issue for the waging of a real jihād [29] and involved the eradication of Shī'ism not only as a political force but as an element of moral disunity. Hence, Nūr al-Dīn and, after him, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn encouraged all elements that could contribute to the revival of Sunnism, by founding different types of educational institutions, mosques and the Sufi orders. [30]

The religious-educational institutions promoted an outburst of intellectual life, literature, and cultural activities of many kinds, [31] reflecting mainly religious 'orthodoxy.' The Crusades on the one hand, and the military and literary counter-Crusades on the other, stimulated three types of literature related directly to the battlefront: (a) the *jihād* literature; (b) the *faḍā'il* literature, the works expounding the religious, historical, and natural merits of Muslim cities, towns, and their holy places; [32] and (c) the *ziyārāt* literature, the works about pilgrimage. Accordingly, several tracts and treatises on the jihād and other related genres—the art of war, military tactics, weapons, and horsemanship— [33] and a considerable number of works on the faḍā'il and the ziyārāt were written.

The latter two genres proved to be crucial for the jihād on the military front as well as for the poetry of the period. The faḍā'il literature was first introduced in the twelfth century by the historian-traditionist Ibn 'Asākir in his *Faḍl Bayt al-Maqdis*, *Faḍl 'Asqalān*, *Faḍl Maqām Ibrāhīm*, and *Faḍā'il al-Shām*. [34] Several authors followed his example. Later, in the eighteenth century, the mystic 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nabulsī wrote in the same tradition. [35] Ibn 'Asākir's teachings, as further developed by his disciples, attempted to establish the religious status of these places in the Muslim tradition, in an attempt to create a religious and patriotic awakening. They urged "the Muslims to defend their cities, towns and sanctuaries, to deliver places that had already succumbed to the Crusaders and to defend

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[29] Hamilton A. R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), p. 26.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26. Also see Bāshā, *Al-Adab*, p. 93.

[31] Gibb, *Studies*, p. 26.

[32] 'Azīz S. 'Aṭiyya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1962), p. 133.

[33] Hamilton A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), p. 128.

[34] Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* (Damascus: al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī, 1951), p. 30. Also see Aḥmad A. Badawī, *Al-Ḥayāt al-Adabiyya fī 'Aṣr al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībiyya fī Miṣr wa 'l-Shām* (Cairo: Nahḍat Miṣr, 1952), p. 538.

[35] A. L. Ṭībāwī, "Jerusalem: Its Place In Islam and Arab History," *The Arab World*, XIV (1967), 14.

those cities already under Muslim rule." [36] A number of works were written and taught in the Damascus and Aqṣā mosques after the recovery of Jerusalem by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, [37] and even in the mosque of Acre shortly before its recovery by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1187. [38] All of these works extolled the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. These writings revived the cult of the Holy Land which was developed at first by the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in opposition to his rival 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca. [39] The faḍā'il and the ziyārāt genres focused the attention of the jihād movement, under Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, on Jerusalem.

From the brief account of the main cultural activities in Syria and Egypt under the Zangids and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, it is evident that the spirit of defeatism which had overshadowed the various aspects of life, following the successful invasion of the Muslim lands by the Crusaders in 1099, was soon wiped out by a new spirit, i.e., stronger commitment to religious and cultural ideals and enthusiasm for the jihād. Between 1144 and 1187 this religious and cultural awakening affected the writings of almost all litterateurs, whose role in propagating the jihād and its ideals was akin to the role of the mass media in wartime nowadays. The jihād and related themes became the focus of the *khuṭab* (Friday sermons), as well as the sermons delivered on the battlefront, and of the artistic prose, mystic hymns and poetry in general.

The poets belonged primarily to two categories: (a) the court poets and (b) the mystic/ascetic poets. Of these, only the former will be dealt with here. From among the outstanding court poets, mention should be made of Ibn al-Qaysarānī and Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulsī, the panegyrists of 'Imād al-Dīn and Nūr al-Dīn Zangī; 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, the chief secretary and panegyrist of Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; Abū al-Faḍl al-Jilyānī; and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, the wazīr of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil not only rallied the largest number of poets around Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn but even guided the poetry for the cause of the jihād. [40]

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[36] 'Aṭiyya, *Crusade*, p. 133.

[37] Ṭībāwī, *A.W.*, XIV (1967), 14.

[38] Emanuel Sivan, "The Beginnings of the Faḍā'il al-Quds Literature," *Israel Oriental Studies*, I (1971), 264.

[39] Charles D. Mathews, "A Muslim Iconoclast (Ibn Taymiyya) on the merits of Jerusalem and Palestine," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LVI (1936), 1.

[40] Muḥammad K. Ḥusayn, *Dirāsāt fī 'l-Shi'r fī 'Aṣr al-Ayyūbiyyīn* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1957), p. 98.

Some of these poets belonged to the influential secretarial class, *kuttāb al-inshā'*. Their poetry thus tended to be patron-guided and didactic, aiming at moral exhortation and propagation of the plans and policies of their employers. At the same time, however, some of these poets, such as Ibn al-Qaysarānī, Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulsī, and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, were refugees themselves, with strong personal attachment to their native lands that were lost to the Crusaders. Their poetry thus gave genuine expression to the sense of loss and hence was the more persuasive. The inshā' style, on the other hand, with its formalism and artificiality by and large left its mark on their poetry. This latter aspect is best manifested in the poetry of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil. These poets utilized the panegyric (*qaṣīda*) as a vehicle for reflecting on and guiding the jihād, using, however, much of the rhetorical devices and ornaments of style of their inshā'.

Some of them occasionally followed the pattern of the classical qaṣīda, but as a general rule they dropped the amatory prelude, replacing it with a rhetorical introduction related to the particular heroic occasion for which the poem was composed. Thus, within the qaṣīda, several themes related to the jihād were incorporated. We will confine our attention to two : Islam and Jerusalem.

A general characteristic of the twelfth-century panegyric is the prevalence of the theme of Islam. This is natural since the heroic actions, as depicted in the poetry, were undertaken for the defense of the faith :

> And religion after being almost wiped out, has become a power while atheism has been destroyed [now]. [41]

The Islamic spirit is often present and does much for the action. For example, the Muslims fight for the liberation of their usurped territory and to recover their sacred shrines.

> You have recovered for Islam its lost one [Jerusalem], when misfortune became its guardian. [42]

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[41] These verses were said by Ibn al-Qaysarānī celebrating the victory of 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī against the Crusaders at Bārīn in northern Syria in 1139. See Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 88.

[42] These verses are addressed by Ibn al-Sā'ātī to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, celebrating the latter's recapturing of Jerusalem in 1187. See Bāshā, *Al-Adab*, p. 434.

Within the same framework, the struggle between the forces of Islam and the Crusades is presented as a struggle between right and wrong, truth and falsehood :

> The *Ḍalāl* [Christianity] has been forsaken, its courtyards have become desolate, but the *Hudā* [Islam] has become exalted and its features radiated. [43]

Since the jihād is for the defense of Islam, the heroic actions are seen within the framework of religious commitment. The poets look back to the Prophet as the embodiment of heroic virtue, and the heroes of Islam, namely, 'Imād al-Dīn, Nūr al-Dīn, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, are praised inasmuch as they approach this ideal. The victories against the Crusaders become reenactments of the victories of the Prophet against the infidels. The heroes are aided in their struggle by a supernatural power :

> And the host of angels have supplied you with regiments that are surrounded by other regiments. [44]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> For him who has the heavenly angels for an army
> What land is there which his horses would not tread ? [45]

These are allusions to similar ideas that had circulated in the early battles of the Prophet Muḥammad against his enemies. Also magnified are the deeds of the heroes, whose strength lies in the superiority which God granted them. Within the same context, the inferiority of the enemies of Islam is stressed in order to lower their image. They are depicted as cowards, treacherous, and, above all, atheists.

> In their wickedness, the Franks are like the people of 'Ād and here *Hūd* has come back to them. [46]

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[43] These verses introduce a poem by Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulsī celebrating a victory of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī at the fortress of Ḥarīm, against the Crusaders of Syria in 1149. See Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 156.

[44] These verses were said by Ibn al-Qaysarānī to 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī on recapturing Edessa from the Crusaders in 1144. See Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 99. Also see Bāshā, *Al-Adab*, p. 436.

[45] These verses are addressed by Ibn al-Qaysarānī to 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī celebrating the recapturing of Edessa in 1144. See Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 98.

[46] Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 145-146. In this verse the poet, Ibn al-Qaysarānī, compares the Crusaders to the people of 'Ād, and Nūr al-Dīn Zangī to the

. . . . . .

Inform the leaders of polytheism to hand over their territories.
For surely, those will be his [Nūr al-Dīn]. [47]

The image of Islam, as portrayed in the poetry, changed greatly after the fall of Edessa. It was depicted as having revived its power and having gained the upper hand over its enemies, the Crusaders.

With the renewed power of Islam resulting from the consecutive successes referred to above, the concept of the jihād, as perceived by the poets, also changed. The early call for the arrest of the Crusaders' expansion and the defense of Islam took a new turn, and new focuses for the jihād were brought to the forefront. Following the recovery of Edessa, the poets Ibn al-Qaysarānī and Ibn al-Ṭarābulsī, for example, immediately reminded 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī that the next targets should be Jerusalem, the *Sāḥil* (Syro-Palestinian coast), Gaza, Hebron, and Nablus, [48] all of which became the focus of the Muslim struggle against the Crusaders. The fact that these cities were brought to the attention of the people, whether on the poets' own initiative or on behalf of their patrons, is significant. It is important to note that the poets were playing an active role, not only as spokesmen but as a pressure group. (This feeling is more strongly felt during the rule of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.) As mentioned earlier, the jihād under Nūr al-Dīn became associated with two objectives: (a) the overthrow of the Fatimid Caliphate and the unification of the Islamic faith as the main step toward the final stage of the jihād, aimed at exterminating the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem; and (b) the recovery of Jerusalem, which was also Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's major aim.

In the second half of the twelfth century, Jerusalem earns the highest place in the call for the jihād as a rallying focus and occupies a significant place in the qaṣīda as a subtheme of Islam.

The earliest allusion to Jerusalem as a religious focus for the jihād —the second theme we intend to discuss—is found in the poetry of Ibn al-Qaysarānī:

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messenger Hūd. Both are mentioned in the Qur'ān. Hūd was commanded by God to guide his people 'Ād to the true path of religion, but they rejected their messenger's mission, and thus were punished. "And there was sent following after them in this world a curse, and upon the Day of Resurrection. Surely 'Ād disbelieved in their Lord: So away with 'Ād the people of Hūd." S. 11:60.

[47] Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm, *Ṣadā al-Ghazu al-Ṣalībī fī Shi'r Ibn al-Qaysarānī* ('Ammān: al-Aqṣā, 1971), p. 152.

[48] See Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 154; Bāshā, *Al-Adab*, p. 425, and Ibrāhīm, *Ṣadā al-Ghazu*, p. 145.

If the conquest of al-Ruhā is a sea, then Jerusalem and the coast would be its shore,
Have they [Jerusalem and the coast] not known, what the other country [Edessa] knew, that those dwelling in it will soon depart? [49]

This allusion followed the recovery of Edessa by 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, which itself was considered one of the greatest achievements of the century. Here the capture of Edessa is compared with a gathering storm, implying the rising power of Islam, which will reinforce itself until it finally sweeps over the shores of the Sāḥil and Jerusalem. Furthermore, it will overrun the Crusaders and drive them back to where they came from "or exterminate them." The images of the sea and the storm, implying the destruction of the enemy and the purification of the land, are common in this period.

Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulsī, a contemporary of Ibn al-Qaysarānī, also refers to Jerusalem in similar terms. Gradually, Jerusalem became a permanent feature of the panegyrics of Ibn al-Qaysarānī and Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulsī. New subthemes, like the Aqṣā Mosque, related to the theme of Jerusalem, were also introduced.

Rise to the Aqṣā Mosque with a large army that will fulfill your ultimate desires, for Jerusalem is surely waiting.
And allow your waves [army] to purify its coast, for you are an ocean whose waves are uproarious. [50]

Ibn al-Ṭarābulsī, in his call for the recovery of Jerusalem, adds Hebron and Gazza (*Ghazzat Hāshim*). [51]

Ibn al-Qaysarānī and Ibn al-Ṭarābulsī, being from the Syro-Palestinian coast, persistently associate the recovery of Jerusalem with that of the Sāḥil. Their poetry not only represents an effort to propagate the policy of their patrons, 'Imād al-Dīn and Nūr al-Dīn

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[49] See Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 127, 154, 187, 196. Also see Ibrāhīm, *Ṣadā al-Ghazu*, pp. 112, 145, and Jamāl al-Dīn b. Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb* (Cairo : Dar al-Qalam, 1953), II, 41, 178.

[50] Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 154. Also see Ibrāhīm, *Ṣadā al-Ghazu*, p. 145. These verses were addressed by Ibn al-Qaysarānī to Nūr al-Dīn Zangī in 1149, celebrating a victory against the Crusaders.

[51] See Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 196. The Muslims associate Gaza with Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, the great-grandfather of the Prophet Muḥammad, who is believed to be buried in Gaza. See H. S. Karmī, "How Holy is Palestine to the Muslims?," *Islamic Quarterly*, XIV (1970), 85.

Zangī, but also reflects their own aspirations, as it meant the recovery of their homelands. Again, these aspirations might not have been revived if it were not for the achievements of 'Imād al-Dīn and Nūr al-Dīn Zangī. Another subtheme introduced in connection with Jerusalem and the Aqṣā Mosque, namely, the *mi'rāj*,[52] will be discussed later.

In the poetry of Ibn al-Qaysarānī and Ibn al-Ṭarābulsī one can see a deliberate use of the symbol of Jerusalem and a persistent call for the recovery of Jerusalem, depicted as one of the major spiritual centers of Islam, having the two sacred shrines, the Aqṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock.

The magnified place of Jerusalem in Islam appears not only in the poetry in Syria, which had become the center of the jihād, but also in Egypt. As a matter of fact, the earliest call for a coordinated Egyptian and Syrian military campaign against the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem for the liberation of Jerusalem came from the Egyptian wazīr Ṭalā'i' b. Ruzzik. Ibn Ruzzik envisioned the natural disasters that had befallen the Muslims, particularly the earthquakes in Syria in 548/1153, as being a punishment inflicted by God upon his people for abandoning their Holy, rather, the Holiest place, Jerusalem.

> This [referring to the natural disasters] is because Islam has lost Jerusalem, center of the revelation before the descending of the Apostle of God [the Prophet Muḥammad], for it is the *Maḥjūj* and the *Maḥjūb*.[53]
>
> Pigs and wine have dwelt in its midst and the Cross has competed with the Bell in it. If Christ sees it, he would not tolerate such a deed which they [the Crusaders] have attributed to him.[54]

Ibn Ruzzik brings to attention the long historical religious tradition of Jerusalem, i.e., relating Islam to the Biblical tradition, thus being considered a part of Islam. By so doing, he dissociates Jesus from the Crusaders. Being a wazīr, he was certainly conveying his official policy on the question of jihād. However, this aspect of Ibn Ruzzik's policy and his aspirations have been overlooked by many of his

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[52] Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 187. Ibrāhīm, *Ṣadā al-Ghazu*, pp. 125, 145.

[53] The *maḥjūj* means here the center of the pilgrimage, during the Umayyads, while the *maḥjūb* refers to heavenly Jerusalem.

[54] Ṭalā'i' Ibn Ruzzīk, *Dīwān Ṭalā'i' Ibn Ruzzik* (Al-Najaf: al-Maktaba al-Ahliyya, 1964), p. 63. Also see Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, I, 267.

contemporary historians, perhaps because he was a Shī'ite and because he represented the Fatimid Caliphate which was unpopular in the world of Sunnism at a time of Sunnite revival.

The theme of Jerusalem occupies a rather prominent place in the poetry of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and Abū al-Faḍl al-Jilyānī. In almost every panegyric submitted to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the poets remind him of the necessity of recovering Jerusalem :

> Advance and conquer Jerusalem. Shed in it so much blood that will purify it.
> Liberate that country [Jerusalem and Palestine] from atheism, and God will redeem you on the day of Judgment.
> . . . . . .
> Purify the Aqṣā Mosque and its courtyard from atheism, defilement and from the Crosses. [55]

Examples referring to Jerusalem are too numerous to mention here. However, it is important to note that the call for the recovery of Jerusalem becomes more intensified in 'Imād al-Dīn's poetry between the years 575-582/1179-1186, the years in which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was involved in his military campaigns against the Zangids in Northern Syria and Mosul. This intensification in the use of the theme is significant since we know the nature of the relationship between 'Imād al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. 'Imād al-Dīn was not just a secretary; he was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's personal adviser and closest associate. [56] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's lengthy war against the Zangids was seen by 'Imād al-Dīn as a diversion from an ideal cause—the jihād. His use of the Jerusalem theme was intended to exert pressure on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to wage a real jihād against the enemy of the faith. We find a similar attitude toward the use of the Jerusalem theme in the personal correspondence of the wazīr al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. [57] Both al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil and 'Imād al-Dīn worked very closely together, and it is quite possible that they might have pressured Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in order to divert his attention from his local wars.

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[55] Bāshā, *Al-Adab*, p. 426, and Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, II, 57; Badawī, *Al-Ḥayāt*, pp. 420, 421.

[56] See Gibb, *Studies*, p. 93; Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin* (Albany : New York University, 1972), p. 2.

[57] See 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maqdisī Abū Shāma, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux*, V, 279-280.

Almost every poem composed during these years referred to Jerusalem in one way or the other, calling for its liberation. [58]

Apart from being the focus of all Muslim efforts to have physical control of the city, whether for economic and/or political reasons, Jerusalem is also mentioned as a heavenly city and therefore the more desirable. It was in the heavenly Jerusalem that the Prophet Muḥammad led the prayer for the earlier prophets, the *Isrā'*, [59] thus establishing the universality of Islam. (It also implies that the Prophet shall inherit all the blessings of the previous Prophets, including the Holy land.) [60] This indeed enhanced the status of the earthly Jerusalem. The mi'rāj, the Prophet's nocturnal trip which carried him to Jerusalem and hence to the seventh heaven where he experienced the Supreme delight of the Beatific Vision, [61] inspired mystic poetry. "It is regarded as a symbol of the rise of the soul from the bonds of sensuality to the heights of mystic knowledge." [62] Ibn al-Fāriḍ, the famous twelfth-century mystic poet, composed some hymns on spiritual Jerusalem [63] which were sung in the mystic gatherings (*dhikr*) and which have persisted throughout Islamic history, until the twentieth century. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn indicates that in his early days the sufis used to sing Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetry in their dhikr. [64]

Further, Jerusalem, the heavenly city, is seen to play a future role in the history of mankind. It is referred to by the Prophet as "the land of the Resurrection and the place of assembly for the Final Judgment," *arḍ al-maḥshar wa 'l-manshar*.

> The Sham [Syria] has been recovered and the Quds [Jerusalem], the congregation place on the day of judgment has been purified. [65]

The place of Jerusalem in twelfth-century Arabic literature and Muslim thought, its evocative and emotional associations, physical and spiritual, are best expressed in the Friday sermon of the *qāḍī*

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[58] See Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, II, 30, 57, 145; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh Madīnat*, Introduction. Also see Bāshā, *Al-Adab*, 426; and Badawī, *Al-Ḥayāt*, pp. 422, 423. Abū Shāma, *Recueil*, V, 337.

[59] J. Horovitz, "*Mi'rādj*," *EI*[1], III, 506. Also see Ṭibāwi, *A.W.*, XIV (1967), 9.

[60] Horovitz, *EI*[1], III, 506. Also see Karmī, *I.Q.*, XIV (1970), 67.

[61] Ṭibāwī, *A.W.*, XIV (1967), 9.

[62] Horovitz, *EI*[1], III, 506-507.

[63] Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Al-Ayyām* (Cairo : Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1962), pp. 91-92.

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, II, 233.

Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-Zakī, celebrating the recovery of Jerusalem from the Crusaders by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn :

> It [Jerusalem] was the dwelling place of your father Abraham; the spot from which your blessed Prophet Muḥammad mounted to heaven; the *qibla* towards which you turned to pray at the commencement of Islam, the abode of the Prophets; the place visited by the saints; the cemetery of the Apostles; the spot where the divine revelation descended and the orders and prohibitions were sent down; it is the country where mankind will be assembled for judgment; the ground where the resurrection will take place.... It is the mosque wherein the Apostle of God offered up his prayer and saluted the angels. [66]

We should keep in mind that the whole literature which gave Jerusalem a new significance in the eyes of all Muslims and which synthesized pre-Islamic Palestinian and Islamic themes was greatly provoked by both the Crusades and the jihād, and it served both. As Walīd Khālidī puts it, "like a magnet, Jerusalem attracted every romantic legend and tradition and became the pivot of popular religious consciousness." [67] The twelfth century gave Jerusalem a permanent position in Arabic poetry and literature, a permanency tested in the appeal of twelfth-century motifs to twentieth-century poets.

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[66] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, tr. de Slane, II, 636-637.

[67] Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (Beirut: Khayyāṭ, 1965), Introduction.

MAẒĀLIM AND *DĀR AL-'ADL* UNDER THE EARLY MAMLUKS

It hardly needs repeating that the Islamic law, the Sharī'a, virtually from the period of its formulation, had limited effect and application, especially in the commercial, criminal, and administrative fields. Reasons of state were often allowed to override legal principles in the appointment of judges and other religious officials, even in the law of personal status when high government officials, civil or military, were involved. Some important spheres of social and political activities were inadequately covered by the Sharī'a. It suffered from practical weaknesses, such as the rigid rules of procedure. Constitutional theory was on the whole developed to sanction existing practices rather than to reform. [1]

Among the various remedies adopted to circumvent, supplement, or adapt the Sharī'a was the creation of a secular 'royal' jurisdiction, the *maẓālim*, which in the sixth/twelfth century was housed in a new institution, the *dār al-'adl*, palace of justice. This article discusses these two institutions, their mutual relationship, their separate and common ramifications in government practices and attitudes, and their legal aspects. Although the first section deals briefly with the theory of maẓālim, my main concern is with its practice in the first century of Mamluk rule, i.e., roughly, 1250-1350.

I. Theory of Maẓālim

The word *maẓālim* (plural of *maẓlima*), literally, "things unjustly taken," "wrongful exactions," derives from the root *ẓ-l-m*, expressing injustice, overstepping the bounds. Applied to the particular institution with which we are dealing it has the sense of a forum for complaints against injustices committed by the strong against the weak. The maẓālim jurisdiction, according to the medieval sources, can be traced back to the Umayyad caliphs and perhaps further. [2] It may derive from Sassanian models. [3] But the examples of early practice

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[1] Māwardī's *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-sa'āda, 1298 A.H.) is an important exception to this.

[2] E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), pp. 512-515; Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, p. 65.

[3] J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 51.

given suggest that in the Arab-Islamic context it was mostly a case of the ruler exercising his absolute authority.

It has been established, above all by Schacht, that the early development of the Sharī'a was partly the result of such exercise of discretion on the part of rulers and governors. [4] So it would appear rather artificial to consider a distinction between Sharī'a and maẓālim in the early formative period. It seems much more likely that a judicial institution with the characteristics of the maẓālim appeared at some time during the first or second century of Abbasid rule. At that time the Sharī'a had attained a more detailed and concrete form, and it was therefore possible to conceive of an alternative or supplementary judicial institution distinct from that of the Sharī'a and its *qāḍīs*. Furthermore, if the form of the maẓālim was based on Sassanian models, this is only to be expected if we accept that the jurisdiction appeared at a time when so many other Sassanian institutions were deliberately being adapted to the needs of the Islamic society and state.

Fully developed discussion of the institution of maẓālim is known to us only from the middle of the fifth/eleventh century with Māwardī's *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*. Written to support the caliph's struggle against his Buyid viziers, the *Aḥkām* is the work of a jurist attempting to bring the constitution of the state back to caliphal rule. [5] One chapter of the work deals with maẓālim. [6]

It is clear that Māwardī is writing on the background of an already existing institution to which he attributes a venerable history stretching back to the Prophet on the one hand and to the Sassanian monarchy on the other. [7] The basic aim of the institution is expressed in the first sentence: "Supervision of the *maẓālim* means bringing litigants to a settlement by fear and restraining them from conflict by awe."

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[4] J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), Part III, Chapter 1.

[5] H. A. R. Gibb, "Al-Mawardi's Theory of the Caliphate," in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. S. J. Shaw and W. R. Polk (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), pp. 151-154.

[6] Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, pp. 64-82; for a paraphrase of the whole chapter see H. F. Amedroz, "The *maẓālim* Jurisdiction in the Akham Sultaniyya of Mawardi," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1911, pp. 653-655. The work of the same title by Māwardī's contemporary Abū Ya'lā b. al-Farrā' (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1966) has a virtually identical section on maẓālim (pp. 73-90); the relationship between these two works is one which has not yet been clarified, cf. D. P. Little, "A New Look at *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*," *M.W.*, LXIV (1974), 1-15.

[7] Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, pp. 64-66.

Ideally the head of the community should hear cases personally, but normally he appoints a supervisor, *nāẓir*. Because of the nature of the institution, the nāẓir must combine in himself the authority of an administrator and the confidence of a qāḍī. The only men with such powers are heirs apparent (*walī al-'ahd*), plenipotentiary viziers (*wazīr al-tafwīḍ*), and provincial governors. The appointment of a man of lower standing automatically restricts the authority of the maẓālim to the enforcement of decisions within the Sharī'a, i.e., to supplementing the deficient powers of a qāḍī. The court is constituted by the nāẓir with various classes of assisting personnel, guards, legal advisors, scribes, and witnesses, meeting in regular, publicized and open sessions. [8] The nāẓir may appoint an individual or a council (*majlis*) to give him advice or to investigate, arbitrate and even to pass judgment on his behalf. [9]

Properly constituted, the maẓālim court has jurisdiction and powers ranging far beyond those of a qāḍī's court. On the question of law to be applied, Māwardī attempts to keep the maẓālim more or less within the bounds of the Sharī'a, but he ignores it on questions of procedure. While the court normally must wait for an individual to raise a case before it can act, in cases involving misuse of public authority it can take the initiative to investigate. The maẓālim is distinguished from the qāḍī's court by its much more liberal access to and use of evidence. The court may subpoena and investigate witnesses and evidence independently of the parties to the case. Detailed rules are given concerning the court's use of written documents, a form of evidence not recognized by the Sharī'a. [10] The role of the oath is of minor importance as compared to the Sharī'a, and in this as well as in other aspects the maẓālim is essentially a secular jurisdiction.

As in so many other areas of Islamic culture the theory of maẓālim, having reached a developed stage, froze. Later writers on the subject are mostly dependent on Māwardī's presentation. Nearly three centuries after Māwardī, in the period with which we are concerned, Nuwayrī gives what is basically a summary of Māwardī, often in Māwardī's own words. One interesting addition is the identification of the supervision (*naẓar*) of maẓālim with the deputyship (*niyāba*)

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[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 66 f.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 80-82.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-77.

of the dār al-'adl, the latter institution having appeared in the intervening period. [11]

Maqrīzī writing a century further on has little new to add. His definition of maẓālim together with the subsequent description of the qualifications needed by its supervisor are taken word for word from Māwardī. [12] The same is true of parts of his following discussion, although Maqrīzī does omit some sections and adds examples and remarks based on the Egyptian experience.

Some of the sources of the late eighth/fourteenth and early ninth/fifteenth centuries contain summaries of the role of maẓālim. In the chronicles they usually appear when the writer wishes to show that a sultan or governor is in control. The summary seems to be of a symbolic nature rather than a description of actual events. Thus Ibn Kathīr describes how in 680/1281 Sultan Qalā'ūn sat in the dār al-'adl, "judged and gave the wronged redress against wrongs." [13] Ibn Taghrī Birdī states that in 672/1274 Sultan Baybars supervised a session in the dār al-'adl: "He judged among the people, looked into the community's affairs, gave the wronged redress, supported rights, and favoured the weak against the strong." [14] In 699/1299 the Mongol Qāzān Khān, a Muslim, asked the Damascenes to surrender to him and "informed them that he loved justice, the well-being of the community, giving redress against wrongs," etc. [15] Qalqashandī's definition of maẓālim is similar: "It is an important matter in which the wronged is given redress against wrongs, the truthful is protected from the liar, the weak is helped against the strong, and the laws of justice (*qawānīn al-'adl*) are kept in force throughout the realm." [16] A similar expression also appears in the more theoretical work of Ibn Jamā'a. [17] Practice, however, differed from theory.

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[11] Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (Cairo: Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya, 1923-1955), VI, 265-290.

[12] Maqrīzī, *Al-mawā'iẓ wa'l-i'tibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār* (Cairo: Būlāq, 1270 A.H.), II, 207.

[13] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāya wa'l-nihāya* (Beirut: Maktabat al-ma'ārif, 1966), XIII, 294.

[14] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Al-nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira* (Cairo: Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya, 1929-1956), VII, 163.

[15] *Ibid.*, VIII, 125.

[16] Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* (Cairo: Dār al-kutub al-khadīwiyya, 1913-1919), VI, 204.

[17] Ibn Jamā'a, "Taḥrīr al-aḥkām fī tadbīr ahl al-islām," *Islamica*, VI (1934), 361.

II. Procedure and Organization

As regards the process of administration set in motion by the presentation of a petition, we are fortunate in having comparatively detailed material. Both the handbooks and the chronicles give accounts of the process, that of Qalqashandī being one of the most detailed.[18] According to him the petitions (*ruq'a*, pl. *riqā'*, or *qiṣṣa*, pl. *qiṣaṣ*) were presented (*rufi'at*) in writing by the plaintiff. Since he might be one of the common people and therefore probably illiterate, some official—it is not specified which—was expected to help formulate the petition correctly. Depending on its nature and importance the petition was passed on to the appropriate officer. It could be presented to the sultan in the public session in the dār al-'adl, where it would be read aloud by the *kātib al-sirr* (private secretary), or on the other days, when the sultan would deal with it in writing. Normally, the kātib al-sirr decided whether a petition should go to the sultan. An alternative channel to the sultan was through the *ṣāḥib dīwān al-inshā'* (head of department of despatches) who also decided whether a petition should go to the sultan or whether he should make a decision himself. Often a viceroy (*al-nā'ib al-kāfil* as opposed to *nā'ib al-ghayba*, the governor acting temporarily in the sultan's absence) held the powers of the sultan to deal with petitions, in which case the same basic procedure applied. Finally, a petition could be presented to the army commander (*atābik al-'asākir*) if the sultan was a minor. The authority to whom the matter finally was transferred was then responsible for having it investigated. When a decision was reached, it was communicated, through the military official called the *dawādār* if the sultan was responsible, to the dīwān al-inshā' where it was recorded. After registration with the appropriate departments of the government, a decree containing the decision was handed over to the petitioner.[19]

In general, Maqrīzī supports Qalqashandī's description, but adds more detail on the procedure involved if the petition was dealt with

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[18] Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, VI, 204-208; this is to great extent quoted from a Fatimid work, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Qānūn dīwān al-rasā'il*, as transmitted and amended by Abū Faḍl b. al-Ṣūrī's *Tadhkira*, a work which has been lost; cf. S. M. Stern, "Petitions from the Mamlūk period," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXIX (1966), 242, n. 32. The Fatimid origins of the procedure are discussed in S. M. Stern, "Three Petitions of the Fāṭimid period," *Oriens*, XV (1962), 172-209.

[19] Qalqashandī goes into more detail in vols. IX-XI where he discusses the methods and style of writing and recording petitions and decisions.

in the dār al-'adl. Once the petition had been read out by the kātib al-sirr or his secretaries (*kuttāb al-dast*) it was referred to the appropriate authority, to the qāḍīs if it was a religious matter, or to the head of the relevant department. If the petition related to military matters, including *iqṭā'āt* ("fiefs"), it was read aloud by the *nāẓir al-jaysh* (army administrator) and if necessary referred back to him through the *ḥājib* (chamberlain) for investigation. The sultan was, of course, free to deal with a case personally if he so wished. [20]

The chronicles confirm that this procedure was generally followed, [21] but also hint at exceptions which suggest that this was customary rather than a strictly legal requirement. So we read about a governor rather than kātib al-sirr reading petitions. [22] More important, however, is the fact that surviving documents of the period, as described by S. M. Stern, confirm virtually every detail of the procedure outlined by Qalqashandī. The documents consist to a great extent of decrees granted in response to petitions; in some cases, the decree has been written on the verso of the petition. They show both the form and the style of petitions and decrees and, with the various signatures and the registration marks of the recording departments, illustrate in detail the process described above. [23]

A survey of some of the main sources shows that the procedures of presentation, investigation, and decision did not always follow the customary pattern. As we have seen, a petition was usually presented through the kātib al-sirr, but at the public sessions of the dār al-'adl it appears to have been possible to present the petition personally. [24] Probably in such cases the kātib al-sirr or one of the kuttāb al-dast still did the actual reading of the petition. In the case of a petition against the oppression of a high official, other means were necessary to get the sultan's ear. When the victims of al-Nashw, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (administrator of royal property), sought

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[20] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 209.

[21] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, IX, 113; Maqrīzī, *Al-sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk* (Cairo: Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya, 1934 cont.), p. 386, also p. 103, where the *kuttāb al-dast* are called *muwaqqi'ūn*.

[22] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 182; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-mawsū'āt, 1321 A.H.), II, 92, says that petitions were presented by the *ḥājibs* and *dawādārs*.

[23] For this in detail see S. M. Stern, "Petitions from the Ayyubid period," *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXVII (1964), 1-32, and *idem*, "Petitions from the Mamlūk period," *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXIX (1966), 233-276.

[24] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 487, 550 f.

to complain to the sultan, they did so through the far from official channel of the sultan's wife, Umm Ānūk. [25]

The freedom of the maẓālim system from the rigid rules of evidence and procedure of the Sharī'a was one of its strong points. The investigation procedure consequently shows great variations. In some cases it might be called "pseudo-Sharī'a," as when Baybars accepted the oath of his Ḥanbalī chief qāḍī that he was innocent of sedition. [26] But in cases involving administration, especially of iqṭā'āt, documentary evidence was naturally required, [27] while in other cases violent methods seem to have been used to gather the necessary evidence. [28] One particularly common way of considering an important case was to refer it to a council in which the sultan was not necessarily a member. This was often done in disputes among government officials. [29] Finally, the maẓālim authority could work for an amicable settlement between disputing parties and thus avoid rendering judgment. [30]

So far as the deciding authority is concerned, the sources have to be treated with some care. It is to be expected that when the chronicles report maẓālim cases it is because the cases have attracted attention by their peculiarity or by the importance of the persons involved. Most of those I have come across were decided by the sultan and are certainly not representative of the vast majority of maẓālim cases. Sometimes a decision was made by the qāḍī, as when the ownership of a well was disputed by Sultan Baybars and one of his emirs. [31] However, usually the sultan delegated the daily supervision of maẓālim, a practice which was nearly as old as the institution itself. [32] Various officials could be appointed to this responsibility, including the vizier and once under Baybars the atābik. [33] Sometimes the viceroy was given plenipotentiary powers with the maẓālim specifically included. [34]

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[25] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, IX, 116.

[26] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 503.

[27] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 205.

[28] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, IX, 113.

[29] E.g., Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIV, 165 f.; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 449.

[30] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIV, 75 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-muqaddima*, transl. F. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958), I, 456.

[31] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIII, 234; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, II, 74.

[32] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 207; Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, p. 65; Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, 491 f.

[33] Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, X, 243-247, 317, 325-337, 393; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 549; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, IX, 291 f.

[34] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 208; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VIII, 98.

During the early Mamluk period the post of *nā'ib dār al-'adl* came into general use; this is clearly the same as *nāẓir dar al-'adl* and presumably identical with *al-nāẓir fī al-maẓālim*, a title which by this time is only infrequently used. Among the obituaries we regularly read of the death of a nā'ib dār al-'adl. [35] These men often held other posts as well: one was a mosque preacher; another was sent by Baybars on a mission to the Hijaz. [36] Two sources suggest that there was no firm custom in this matter. At the beginning of his account for the year 724 A.H. (from Dec. 30, A.D. 1323) Ibn Kathīr gives an apparently full list of the main officials of Damascus, but there is no mention of nā'ib dār al-'adl or al-nāẓir fī al-maẓālim. [37] Does this mean that he was only a minor official or was there none at the time? Maqrīzī states that in 638/1240 the Ayyubid sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb appointed several nā'ibs for the dār al-'adl, among them two *shāhids* (notaries), a number of lawyers, a qāḍī, and one man who was head of the descendants of the Prophet, military qāḍī, and teacher at the Nāṣiriyya *madrasa*, and that this practice became normal in Egypt. [38] I have not come across any later report of a plurality of nā'ibs, and of what significance, if any, is the fact that in this case they were all members of the religious class?

III. Maẓālim Law

While information on the administration of maẓālim is relatively easy to find, the question of the law administered is confused. A conclusion often reached as to the nature of this jurisdiction is that it is comparable to equity in English law. Maẓālim does appear to have similar origins, namely, an appeal to sovereign prerogative avoiding the rigid and inadequate Common Law or, in our case, Sharī'a. It is also sometimes mistakenly assumed that the maẓālim court dealt specifically with torts. Such assumptions are not justified on the basis of the evidence I have seen. The maẓālim retained its essential character of being the sultan's sovereign prerogative justice, sometimes interfering in administrative practices, sometimes in the

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[35] E.g., Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 13, 85; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VIII, 217; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mi'a al-thāmina* (Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-ma'ārif al-'uthmāniyya, 1348-1350 A.H.), III, 53.

[36] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 544; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VIII, 140.

[37] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIV, 111.

[38] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 306 f. There was not at this time a dār al-'adl in Cairo; sessions were held in one of the madrasas.

various systems of law prevalent in the land. Thus, the extent and form of the maẓālim jurisdiction remained dependent on the personal whims of whichever man happened to be sultan.

Let us first consider the various systems of law which could conceivably come before the maẓālim. The Sharī'a is naturally the first candidate, and it was with the relationship between maẓālim and Sharī'a that the theorists from Māwardī onward were primarily concerned. There are a few reports of cases where the Sharī'a clearly was involved. Thus in 712/1312 a certain Ibn Zahra al-Maghribī was sent to jail in Damascus for showing disrespect for the Qur'ān; four years later a dispute between the Ḥanbalīs and the Shāfi'īs over their doctrines of faith was brought up in Damascus; in 741/1341 a man was sentenced to death for blasphemy. [39] In the last of these cases the decision was made by the Mālikī qāḍī; in the other two cases it is not specified whether the qāḍīs were involved.

Waqf cases often came before the maẓālim when powerful officials were involved, probably because the qāḍīs' courts were powerless in such instances. But generally these cases show the Sharī'a being disregarded. One of the great emirs, 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Afram al-Kabīr, made a waqf in favor of his sons during the first reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad; the 'ulamā' complained but were overruled. [40] Unfortunately, the reasons for the complaint are not specified. In another case, Sayf al-Dīn al-Sāmarrī had created a waqf out of property bought twenty years previously from the daughter of the Ayyubid al-Ashraf Mūsā. Sultan Qalā'ūn's governor of Egypt desired the property and obtained a judgment that the princess had not been of sound mind, and therefore legally incapable, when she had sold the property. The original sale was therefore annulled and al-Sāmarrī was forced to pay over the yield of the waqf amounting to 200,000 dirhams. As soon as that had been done, the governor and his co-conspirators had the princess certified as having regained her sanity and bought the property from her at their price. [41]

Other cases involve the validity of sales, [42] and usurpation of property by Baybars—a matter which was corrected a few years later by his son and successor, Sultan al-Sa'īd Berke Khān. [43]

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[39] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIV, 66, 75, 189 f.

[40] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VIII, 81.

[41] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIII, 310.

[42] *Ibid.*, XIV, 61 f.

[43] *Ibid.*, XIII, 268, 280; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VII, 246 f., 265.

Most difficult to ascertain is the continued existence of various forms of customary law, *'urf*. There is much evidence of its existence in the twentieth century (evidence in social anthropological studies), and there is no reason to think that it did not exist in the eighth/fourteenth century. Goldziher has a tantalizing reference to a tenth/sixteenth-century Hebrew source which states that "'*urf* was applied by those courts that were independent of the organs handling canonical law...." [44] Ibn Jamā'a writes that among the duties of the market inspector (*muḥtasib*) was checking the weights and measures according to local custom (*al-'urf al-ma'lūf baladih*). [45] 'Urf was also recognized as having effect in some areas of the Sharī'a, [46] but it remains to be seen to what extent it duplicated the Sharī'a and whether it was applied or interfered with by the maẓālim or any of the several other jurisdictions of Mamluk Egypt. There is also the problem of discovering the actual content of the various systems of customary law which may have existed at this period.

The third system of law with which the maẓālim jurisdiction might become involved was *siyāsa*. This is the prerogative of the head of state—whether caliph or sultan—to set aside the Sharī'a, to supplement it, and to influence its interpretation and application. Siyāsa is therefore closely connected to maẓālim; in fact, Tyan calls it the restraining aspect of maẓālim. [47] It was to be expected that the jurists should attempt to restrict the ruler's prerogative by devising a *siyāsa shar'iyya*, rules for when a qāḍī may permissibly follow the ruler's instructions and details of what kind of instructions the ruler may legally issue. The siyāsa shar'iyya was the jurists' admission that the Sharī'a was not applicable in its entirety due to the deplorable decline in the conditions of the community of Islam since the time of the Prophet and his Companions. Siyāsa also bears certain comparisons with the more orthodox minor roots of the law, *istiṣlāḥ* and *istiḥsān*. [48] But it retains the air of being a rather theoretical concept, while true siyāsa appears to be in practice the ruler's unlimited prerogative of exercising discretionary justice. As

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[44] I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓāhiriten—ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte* (Leipzig: Otto Schulze, 1884), p. 205.

[45] Ibn Jamā'a, "Taḥrīr," *Islamica*, VI (1934), 371.

[46] Schacht, *Introduction*, pp. 62, 136.

[47] Tyan, *Histoire*, p. 446; cf. Schacht, *Introduction*, p. 54.

[48] Schacht, *Introduction*, pp. 60 f.; E. Tyan, "Méthodologie et sources du droit en Islam," *St. Isl.*, X (1959), 101 ff.

such, it came under continual attack from encyclopaedists and historians of a religious bent, especially so during the Mamluk period when it was identified with the Yasa of the Mongols.

The *locus classicus* of the role of the Yasa is Maqrīzī's discussion of the relationship between maẓālim, Yasa, and the post of ḥājib. [49] Previously in his discussion of maẓālim Maqrīzī stated that "since the days of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria *al-naẓar fī al-maẓālim* has been known as the *siyāsa* jurisdiction." [50] He goes on to state that there are two kinds of siyāsa. One is just (*'ādila*) and is known as the siyāsa shar'iyya; the word in this case derives from the Arabic verb *sāsa* meaning to guide, to conduct, and thence to rule. The other kind is unjust (*ẓālima*) and has been declared forbidden (*ḥarām*) by the Sharī'a; the word is here a corruption of the word Yasa. This second form of siyāsa is a Satanic concept. The Yasa was created by Chingiz Khān and first entered Egypt with the many Mongol prisoners taken at the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt. [51] Maqrīzī describes many of the rules of the Yasa, some of them in direct contradiction to the Sharī'a. The ḥājib (originally chamberlain) was set up by the Mamluks to judge amongst themselves according to the Yasa, as well as in matters concerning government departments and iqṭā'āt. His jurisdiction was gradually extended and from 753/1352 included Sharī'a matters too.

Elements of this account find support in other sources. Qalqashandī confirms that the ḥājib was occupied with maẓālim, [52] and Ibn Taghrī Birdī tells of a ḥājib judging in a dispute over iqṭā'āt. [53] He also supports the thesis that the role of ḥājib changed from the traditional one of chamberlain to military and administrative judge under the first Mamluks, specifically Baybars. [54] But in another context Maqrīzī himself gives evidence of the ḥājib acting as military judge as early as 639/1241. [55]

The evidence of Maqrīzī, even if taken at face value, does not justify the sweeping conclusions drawn by Poliak to the effect that the Mamluk state was at times little more than an autonomous province under one or other of the Mongol khāns and that the Mamluk

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[49] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 219-222.

[50] *Ibid.*, 207.

[51] Cf. Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, VI, 268.

[52] Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 185; V, 450.

[53] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VIII, 221.

[54] *Ibid.*, VII, 185 f.

[55] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 309.

state was organized on Mongol lines.[56] Unfortunately for our knowledge of the Yasa, it has not been preserved, and Maqrīzī's description of it is the account which is most self-confident. Recently, however, it has been opened to serious question by David Ayalon.[57] He argues convincingly that Maqrīzī himself never saw a copy of the Yasa, and that his alleged informant did not know the Mongol language or Uighur characters; no evidence exists of the Yasa in other languages or characters. Ayalon shows that Maqrīzī's source is 'Umarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār* and that he in turn drew drom Juwaynī who, as the source also for Mirkhond and Bar Hebraeus, is our unique source on the Yasa. But in copying, Maqrīzī has transformed what his source describes as customs into positive commands and prohibitions of the Yasa, and in doing so he has selected those Mongol customs that were most obnoxious to Islam.[58] His purpose in thus twisting his source was to attack the growing jurisdiction of the ḥājib and the declining effectiveness of the Sharī'a under the Mamluks. So we have no certain way of judging to what extent the Yasa was applied by the *maẓālim*. All that can be done is to present a survey of actual cases reported and then see if they lead to any conclusions.

The majority of cases I have located deal with some form of maladministration or abuse of power. Foremost among them during this early Mamluk period are two, the first during the reign of Baybars. The sultan had shown special favor to his shaykh, al-Khuḍr b. Abū Bakr b. Mūsā, who abused his position. The sources are rather vague about what he did, although Ibn Kathīr mentions that the shaykh was inordinately partial to women. He was finally brought to trial in 671/1273 and only avoided execution by prophesying that the sultan would die within a few weeks of his own death.[59] The second case took place during the last years of the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The nāẓir al-khāṣṣ, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-

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[56] N. Poliak, "Le caractère colonial de l'état mamelouk dans ses rapports avec la Horde d'or," *R.E.I.*, IX (1935), 231-248, and "The Influence of Chingiz-Khān's Yāsa upon the General Organization of the Mamlūk State," *B.S.O.A.S.*, X (1942), 862-876.

[57] D. Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān. A Reexamination," *St. Isl.*, XXXIII (1971), 97-140.

[58] However, it must be pointed out in support of Maqrīzī that Marco Polo tells that Qubilay Khān expressly ordered Muslims to marry and to slaughter animals according to Mongol custom; cf. Marco Polo, *The Travels* (Harmondsworth : Penguin Books, 1958), pp. 134 f.

[59] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 608; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VII, 161 f.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIII, 264, 278; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahaba* (Cairo : Maktabat al-quds, 1350-51 A.H.), V, 351 f.

Wahhāb al-Nashw, was for several years a dominant figure in the government and used his power for his own ends. On at least one occasion petitions were brought to the sultan over al-Nashw's nepotism, usurpation of property, and enforcement of trading contracts favorable to himself. He finally lost the sultan's confidence in 740/1339 and died under torture. [60]

A group of cases appears in connection with al-Nāṣir's cadastral survey (*rawk*) of 715/1315. In itself the survey was at least in part a response to complaints about uneven distribution of iqṭā'āt. [61] It was common practice for the holders of iqṭā'āt and their agents to extract more than was their due from the peasants. This practice was abolished, as well as many others, though there is reason to doubt the effectiveness of the move. [62]

Several other cases are reported. In reaction to complaints, Baybars restored land which the army department (*dīwān al-jaysh*) had usurped under al-Mu'izz Aybak [63] and set a time limit to the peasants' *corvée*-style labor on *dīwānī* land. [64] Al-Nāṣir dismissed a chief qāḍī because he had failed to control his sons' misuse of powers. [65]

The maẓālim sessions held in dār al-'adl were also opportunities for government officials to settle matters amongst themselves. Sometimes such disputes were solved by reorganization or new appointments. Baybars' innovation of appointing four chief qāḍīs was ostensibly the result of a maẓālim case involving disputed inheritance. [66] There are several cases of a sultan or governor reconsidering an appointment when faced with petitions from other officials. [67] Also as the result of a petition Baybars lowered the fee paid by the farmers of the Cairo mint. [68]

The majority of petitions coming before the maẓālim, whether in or outside the dār al-'adl, were probably the rather everyday matters which form a large part of the surviving documentary material. [69]

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[60] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 386; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, IX, 112 f., 116, 323 f.

[61] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, IX, 42 f.; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 88.

[62] Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, IX, 44-49.

[63] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 205.

[64] *Ibid.*, 206.

[65] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 440 ff.

[66] *Ibid.*, I, 538-540; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIII, 245; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, VII, 121 f.; Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 35 f.

[67] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 126, 449; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIII, 165 f.

[68] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 508.

[69] E.g., the material discussed in Stern, "Petitions from the Ayyubid period," *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXVII (1964) and "Petitions from the Mamlūk period," *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXIX (1966).

In the chronicles there are only reports of a few such cases, involving questions such as ownership of a well, [70] testaments unwitnessed because of military campaign conditions, [71] guardianship of military orphans' property, [72] and permission to repair a church. [73]

A case mentioned by Maqrīzī opens up the interesting question of conflicts between various jurisdictions, in this case between the ḥājib and the qāḍī. [74] Some Persian merchants had bought goods in Egypt but failed to pay. The Ḥanafī chief qāḍī had them imprisoned as a punishment but thus securely prevented them from paying. The Egyptian creditors presented a maẓālim petition to the sultan who handed the case over to the ḥājib. He released the Persians and forced them to pay their debts. Maqrīzī concludes that the qāḍī was from that time prohibited from dealing with merchants and cases of debt and that the ḥājib's right to judge on whatever he wished was thereby established. Poliak says that this case further extended the influence of the Yasa in Egypt. [75]

In view of Ayalon's studies, both conclusions appear to be exaggerated, but other sources do indicate that the qāḍī's jurisdiction in matters of trade was declining. In a treaty with Aragon in 692/1292 it was agreed that disputes over goods arising in Egypt between Egyptians and Aragonese were subject to the Sharī'a. [76] In 833/1430 a similar treaty was signed according to which similar disputes could be settled by the Aragonese consul or by the Egyptian authorities—the Sharī'a is not specified—according to the choice of the parties to the dispute. [77] This is, of course, also a reflection on the changing balance of power in the Mediterranean.

Quite apart from the question of jurisdiction, however, the Persian merchants' case, together with other evidence cited earlier, suggests that the maẓālim was more than just another court. It retained the character of a sovereign discretionary jurisdiction and was therefore free to take on whatever cases it chose, and in its judgment was free to use any of the systems of law available or to use none of them.

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[70] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIII, 234.

[71] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 536.

[72] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 206.

[73] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 182.

[74] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 222.

[75] Poliak, "Le caractère colonial," *R.E.I.*, IX (1935), 235.

[76] M. A. Alarcón y Santon and R. García de Linares, *Los documentos arábes diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid: Imp. de Estanislao Maestre, 1940), pp. 337 f.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

If the sultan so decided the maẓālim could even become an instrument of administrative oppression.

IV. Dār al-'adl

The dār al-'adl has been mentioned above as the place where maẓālim petitions were presented publicly to the sultan. The first dār al-'adl was built for that purpose by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī in the middle of the sixth/twelfth century in Damascus. [78] A few decades later, in 585/1189, the Ayyubid al-Ẓāhir Ghiyāth al-Dīn built one in Aleppo "for his public sessions." [79] But in Egypt the construction of a dār al-'adl took place much later; under sultan al-Mu'izz Aybak sessions were being held in the Ṣāliḥiyya madrasa. [80] The first dār al-'adl in Cairo, beneath the Citadel, was built in 661/1263 at the initiative of Baybars; it was put into use the following year. [81] The building was demolished in 722/1322, but had ceased to function under Qalā'ūn, who had moved the dār al-'adl to a new *īwān* (throne room) inside the Citadel. [82] The īwān is subsequently called dār al-'adl more often than it is called īwān. In 715/1315 Sultan al-Nāṣr completed the building of a new īwān on the same site, still housing the dār al-'adl. [83] There are passing references to the existence of a dār al-'adl in the provinces in Alexandria, [84] Homs, [85] and al-Karak. [86]

In Damascus the original dār al-'adl was replaced during the seventh/thirteenth century by the *dār al-sa'āda*, the governor's official residence and administrative center. [87] A new dār al-'adl was incorporated in the dār al-sa'āda. Many sources do not distinguish between the two terms and consistently use dār al-sa'āda when

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[78] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 208; for fuller references see Stern, "Petitions from the Mamlūk period," *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXIX (1966), 14, n. 36.

[79] Ibn Shaddād, *Al-a'lāq al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarā' al-Shām wa'l-Jazīra* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1953), I, i, 17, quoted by Ibn al-Shiḥna, *Al-durr al-muntakhab fī tārīkh mamlakat Ḥalab* (Beirut: Catholic Press, 1909), p. 34.

[80] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 373.

[81] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 205.

[82] *Ibid.*, 206 and *Sulūk*, II, 236.

[83] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 148 f.

[84] *Ibid.*, I, 500.

[85] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIII, 345.

[86] *Ibid.*, XIV, 47.

[87] N. Elisséeff, "Damas à la lumière des théories de Jean Sauvaget," in A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern (eds.), *The Islamic City* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1970), pp. 159-161.

maẓālim cases were involved. [88] Ibn Kathīr, a Damascene, constantly confuses the terms, using both indiscriminately when discussing maẓālim, [89] but on one occasion he talks explicitly of "the *dār al-'adl* in the *dār al-sa'āda*." [90]

Arising out of the sultan's maẓālim sessions a complex ceremonial developed, the details of which throw some light on Mamluk government, the role of the various officials, and the role of justice. Public maẓālim sessions were held regularly on certain days of the week, usually every Monday and Thursday except in Ramaḍān. [91] In connection with these sessions a large procession (*mawkib*) was held when the sultan or governor showed himself to the people. [92] Permission or invitation to join the sultan in the mawkib appears to have been a sign of favor. [93] Gradually the mawkib came to be carried out for its own sake, and in 789/1387 Sultan Barqūq completed the process by holding maẓālim sessions in the sultan's *iṣṭabl* ("stable") while the mawkib to the īwān continued separately as an outer symbol of the sultanate. [94]

In the dār al-'adl there was a customary arrangement of officials in a circle according to rank. At first—Maqrīzī says before al-Nāṣir—the four chief qāḍīs sat on the right of the sultan in the order Shāfi'ī, Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Ḥanbalī, followed by the treasurer and the muḥtasib. On the left was the vizier, if he was a civilian, followed by the kātib al-sirr. In front of the sultan were nāẓir al-jaysh and the kuttāb al-dast, and behind him in two rows stood the palace officials and military officers, including the governor and the vizier, if he was a military man. Later the arrangement changed slightly when the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī chief qāḍīs moved to the sultan's left side, while the three military qāḍīs and perhaps the *muftīs* were placed between the Mālikī chief qāḍī and the treasurer on the right side. [95] The arrangement could be different in the provinces. In Aleppo, for example, the governor had on his left side the chief and military

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[88] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 549, 870; II, 212; Ibn Shaddād, *A'lāq*, II, i, 88.

[89] E.g., Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIII, 349; XIV, 61 f., 67, 93, 97.

[90] *Ibid.*, XIV, 189 f.

[91] Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 44; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 207 f.; Ibn al-Shiḥna, *Durr*, p. 258; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, II, 92.

[92] Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 222.

[93] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIII, 294.

[94] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 207 f.

[95] *Ibid.*, 209; Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 44; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, II, 92; Maqrīzī mentions only a Shāfi'ī *muftī* and places him at the end of the right flank.

qāḍīs, muftīs, and viziers in that order. Below him and to the right were kātib al-sirr followed by nāẓir al-jaysh and the kuttāb al-dast. In front of the sultan were the ḥājibs and military officials. [96]

Variations in this were made according to individual rank and the sultan's favor. At an early stage the kātib al-sirr was not usually present but sent kuttāb al-dast to represent him. [97] In 711/1311, when Ibn Jamā'a became chief qāḍī of Egypt, his predecessor retained the post of military qāḍī but was given a seat above the Ḥanbalī chief qāḍī. [98] The qāḍīs' true standing is belied by their high position in this arrangement. Making a general observation Ibn Khaldūn says: "Their standing merely reflects an affectation of respect for their position in the royal councils, where it is desired to make a show of reverence for the religious ranks." [99] In Aleppo the qāḍīs were present in the sessions only for the few religious cases. As soon as they had been dealt with, the kātib al-sirr escorted the qāḍīs out and the session continued without them. This was also the general practice in the Thursday session in Cairo under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. [100]

The dār al-'adl gradually acquired a strong symbolic association with government as a whole, partly because it ceased at an early stage to have its own building, partly because of the public sessions and the accompanying mawkib, but also in other ways. It became the place where succession was recognized and allegiance given. This was where al-Nāṣir in 740/1340 set aside the deceased caliph al-Mustakfī's nomination of one of his sons, al-Ḥākim, as successor in favor of another son, al-Wāthiq. [101] When Sultan al-Sa'īd abdicated in favor of his younger brother Salāmish and the latter was given allegiance, it happened in the dār al-'adl. [102] Appointments and distributions of robes of honor to officials often took place in dār al-'adl. [103]

Decisions of state were often made in the dār al-'adl and sometimes administered from there. They might be comparatively simple matters

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[96] Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 224; Ibn al-Shiḥna, *Durr*, p. 260

[97] Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 189.

[98] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 101; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIV, 61.

[99] Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, transl. I, 459.

[100] Ibn al-Shiḥna, *Durr*, p. 259; 'Umarī, "Masālik al-abṣār," MS Topkapu 2797, fol. 388.

[101] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 502 f.; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, IX, 322.

[102] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIII, 288.

[103] E.g., Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 357, and *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 209; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIV, 161, 165 f., 188.

such as creating four chief qāḍīs, mentioned earlier, or giving instructions to the commander of a punitive expedition sent against Mecca in 731/1330.[104] They could also be more complex matters. Public subscription to finance resistance against the Mongol Qāzān took place there in 700/1300.[105] A group of Jews declared their conversion to Islam in the dār al-'adl in Damascus the following year.[106] Baybars sat in the dār al-'adl when he ordered price controls and food distribution; these measures were also administered from there.[107] The poll-tax of the non-Muslim subjects was officially handed over there on at least one occasion.[108] Finally, Sultan al-Nāṣir distributed title deeds after the cadastral survey of 715/1315 in his new īwān.[109]

Ibn Kathīr says that Baybars, when he took his place on the throne in Cairo's Citadel in 658/1260, "ruled, created justice, separated, joined together, appointed, and dismissed (*ḥakama wa-'adala wa-qaṭa'a wa-waṣala wa-wallā wa-'azala*)."[110] This formula is used once again, significantly without the last two words, when Baybars' governor took control of Aleppo after defeating the Mongols in 659/1261.[111] This is just one more sign that the Islamic concept of government was not one of the separation of powers. The judicial power of the ruler was inseparable from his general executive power. Despite Islamic theory, one might even be justified in attributing to the ruler legislative power, for the Sharī'a was applied in this world only on his sufferance and was supplemented and superseded on his authority. The growth of the maẓālim jurisdiction is in itself proof that in practical worldly affairs the ethical rule of God had been to a great extent put aside by the stronger and more effective worldly powers.

But to go from there and treat the maẓālim jurisdiction as a court or legal system with a definite form and constitution would be to impose an attitude derived from European, and in particular English, experience. True, the theorists led by Māwardī did attempt to delimit the bounds of maẓālim and to regularize its form. But this was

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104 Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, II, 329.

105 *Ibid.*, I, 906.

106 Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIV, 19.

107 Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 507 f., and *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 205.

108 Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 712.

109 Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 206 f.; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, IX, 51 ff.

110 Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, XIII, 223.

111 *Ibid.*, 231.

essentially a move to bring it under the control of the sole truly systematic legal institution that Islam could allow, namely the Sharī'a. This survey of the evidence from the early Mamluk period suggests that the maẓālim did not attain the institutional form that Māwardī hoped for or that Western scholarship has sought to find. There might have been a possibility of such a form developing when the dār al-'adl was created for the maẓālim, but the dār al-'adl was soon expanded to become another symbol of total indivisible government, and the form and role of the maẓālim again came to depend on the whim of the ruler.

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A NOTE ON THE BEDOUIN IMAGE OF *'ADL* AS JUSTICE

Writing on the term *'adl* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Emile Tyan presents it as a noun meaning "justice" and an adjective meaning "rectilinear and well-balanced" and states that the two meanings do not correspond exactly. Through contact with Bedouin culture, however, one encounters a number of indications that the two meanings not only correspond quite closely, but that the images "rectilinear and well-balanced" lie at the root of the term 'adl as "justice." This seems natural when we consider that *lex talionis* may itself be a product of nomadic existence in the desert. As justice in its Islamic context, however, 'adl, according to Tyan, has come to mean obeisance to the moral and religious laws of Islam, a meaning far-removed from the Bedouin principles of balance and compensation. It is therefore of interest to view the term 'adl as it was perhaps perceived in the desert, before being adapted to Muslim legal terminology and divorced from its original context.

The rectilinear image of justice appears in the jurisprudential terminology of several languages; in French we have the concept *droit*, and in English the idea of "right." Often, too, the concept of injustice embodies the image of "something twisted," as the French *tort* (from old French, *tortus*; cf. torture) and the English "wrong" (cf. to wring). The Bedouin image of 'adl is also rectilinear, but specifically in the sense of flat, even or well-balanced. It corresponds, in this respect, to the underlying concept of the English word "law," which stems from the old Teutonic root *lag* (to lie). Because the image is of "something lying flat," however, the contrary image of "twisted" is hardly applicable; instead, the Bedouins have conceived of wrong or injustice in the "tilting" or "inclining" action. The opposite of 'adl, balanced, is thus *māyil*, tilted.

The imagery of balanced and tilted derives, in particular, from what the camel carries on its back: either large woolen saddlebags (*khurj*) that protrude on both sides of the saddle or the load itself. One Bedouin poet, for example, in praise of his she-camel's saddlebags, says: *wa khurjhā, fīh 'adl wa lā mīl* (her saddlebags are straight not inclined). Another poet uses the second conjugation verb *'addal* for "to straighten out" a camel's load that is tilting: *in mālit al-aḥmāl, bi ʾīdī 'addaltahā* (when the loads tilt, I balance them with my hand).

The use of the word "to tilt" as meaning "to wrong, or be unjust" is heard in everyday Bedouin conversation. If a Bedouin wants to say that someone has done him wrong, he may express it as, "so-and-so has tilted (been unjust) in regard to me": *fulān māl 'alay.* This expression is also found in the Bedouin proverb, *idhā mālit 'alayk ad-dinyā, mīl 'a dhrā'ak* (if the world leans on you [i.e., wrongs you], lean on your arm [i.e., resort to force]). In presenting an actual legal claim, a Bedouin may say, "so-and-so has tilted (been unjust) in regard to my right": *fulān māl 'alā ḥaggī.* By the same token, a Bedouin may see his right, itself, as tilted or out of balance: *ḥaggī māyil.*

The use of saddlebag imagery for justice is clearly indicated in the wording of a poem that has enjoyed wide currency in the Bedouin world. In it the poet asks God to grant him the ten things that made life a success, one of which is "power wielded on horseback with which to balance the tilted right of a protégé" (one who has sought protection):

al-khāmsih, 'izwih min fawg al-amhār
a'addil bihā, law māl ḥagg aṭ-ṭanīb.

Here we have the same verb, 'addal, which was used to balance tilted camel loads (*in mālit al-aḥmāl*) presently employed to balance someone's tilted rights.

The use of saddlebag and camel-load imagery to make the concepts of justice and injustice palpable to the Bedouins is highly appropriate. All Bedouins understand that one cannot survive in the desert without a camel and that for a camel to be of service his load must be balanced and not tilted. This essentialness of the camel is closely paralleled by another sine qua non of existence in the desert: a Bedouin's need never to be remiss in the defense of his rights. These, basically defined, are: not to be killed, not to be maimed, not to have one's honor maligned, and not to have one's possessions taken.

In the absence of law enforcement agencies in the desert to protect these rights, a Bedouin's own reputation for relentlessness in the redress of wrongs committed against him is his primary guarantee of security. This reputation, in itself, serves as a deterrent to other members of a naturally contentious society, who are often tempted to violate each other's rights in order to survive. If a Bedouin should once neglect to redress a wrong, however, whether slight or grave, he would lose this reputation and henceforth be considered easy prey. Then, like an unevenly loaded camel, he, too, could barely go on in the desert; "He would have no future," Bedouins say.

Thus, even a Bedouin who is in fact attempting to rectify a wrong

feels that his life, too, is "out of balance" so long as he has not yet succeeded. He fears lest ultimate failure be attributed to a lack of resolve. Only the actual redress of a wrong, through either retaliation or retribution, will bring him relief. This is what constitutes the balancing of the load that enables his life in the desert to proceed.

A Bedouin, who had to take vengeance for the murder of a son, captured this image of justice as 'adl in the concluding lines of a poem that he composed when, according to the legend, [1] sitting in a mountain retreat, he watched his son's murderer being buried on the morrow of the night of revenge. The earlier lines of the poem relate some details of the act: how the avenger appeared disguised as a beggar, how he waited for the murderer (Salih) and killed him, and how a black slave helped him escape. At the end of the poem comes an expression of relief, for he has shed the burden of care: he has made a counterpoise (*'adīl*) for his sideheavy saddlebag (*il-khurj ith-thigīl*).

1. I was your guest before Salih came your way;
   Salih alighted at your camp just today.
2. I sat without shame and ate unrestrained,
   And among dregs I was myself disdained.
3. A reed of *'awarwar* my defense against mongrels
   With which I beat every hound that howls.
4. But a dagger of the *Ijbārah* lay at my waist,
   You could hear it scraping within its case.
5. I plunged it in twice, perhaps even thrice,
   Quickly; I had no time on hand.
6. I plunged it in twice, perhaps even thrice:
   Jets from a rain cloud for a droughty land.
7. Thank God for the slave at the edge of the waste
   Diverting the dogs in an adverse direction.
8. Morning found me hiding in a steep mountain crag;
   Only wild beasts had ever repaired here before me.
9. I retired encumbered but arose feeling light;
   My sideheavy saddlebag has now been put right. [2]

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[1] The complete story, as narrated to me by 'Īd Imfarrij of the Tarabīn Hasablīh tribe in Sinai, appears in both Arabic and English in Clinton Bailey, "The Narrative Context of the Bedouin Qasidah-Poem," in *Folklore Research Center Studies*, III (Jerusalem, 1972), 67-105.

[2] *Sawwayt lil-khurj ith-thigīl 'adīl.*

BOOK REVIEWS

The Desert Bible. By Morris S. Seale. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1974. ix plus 223 pp. £ 3.95.

Dr. Seale's book is subtitled *Nomadic Tribal Culture and Old Testament Interpretation*. The nomadic culture referred to is that of pre-Islamic Arabia, wherein the author finds parallels illuminative of much that is currently dark in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. The effort to understand the Hebrew Scriptures by such recourse to nomadic or bedouin life is an old one, an approach that includes such figures as J. Pedersen, James A. Montgomery, and Sabatino Moscati among its practitioners. It is somewhat curious, even on that basis, to read the proclamation of "a new methodology" (Ch. I, title) for the study of the Old Testament and find that it involves such cross-cultural comparison as its basis. Seale notes (p. 4): "It is the central thesis of this book that the Hebrews began as a nomadic people; that their life and literature continued, long after they settled, to reflect their origins; and that the Old Testament can best be understood in the light of their nomadic tribal culture."

Let us compare the first chapter of Duncan Black Macdonald's *Hebrew Literary Genius* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1933) wherein it is said: "The Hebrews, it has become plain, were simply an Arab clan which, under strange and unique guidance, entered Palestine and settled there. But they remained Arab, although they denounced the name. And their literature, throughout all their history and to this day, in its methods of production and in its recorded forms, is of Arab scheme and type" (p. 1). Now it is a curious fact that although Macdonald and Seale after him make use of the same approach to Hebrew literature, drawing on the same literary genres, and using in many cases the same figures from Arab history, Dr. Seale seems totally unaware of Macdonald's contribution to the comparative study of the Old Testament. Of course the two works are aimed in slightly different directions: Macdonald's is to aid in the literary enjoyment of the Old Testament, while Seale's is to explicate and illuminate the Old Testament and to clarify some of the linguistic difficulties therein. But parallels between the two volumes are startling and striking.

To mention but a few of the likenesses: compare the treatment of David as a Hebrew Robin Hood by Macdonald (Ch. V), with that of Seale (pp. 109-110), where David is likened to an earlier Arabian poet, 'Urwa ibn al-Ward, who "... so distinguished himself as a Robin Hood...." Further, both treat Ecclesiastes as representative of Hebrew philosophy, although the interpretations diverge. Both are insistent on the use of Arabic parallels in illustrating Hebrew literature and life.

In drawing these similarities between the two works, it is not suggested that there is conscious dependence by the one on the other. Both writers have been involved with the study of Islam and the Old Testament for the bulk of their scholarly careers, and it would

appear not more than natural that the use of parallels would occur independently. It is, however, difficult to understand the lack of reference to Macdonald's work by Seale, more particularly since Dr. Seale did work at The Hartford Seminary Foundation, as earlier did Macdonald, and Seale also used, approvingly, Macdonald's *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* in his own study, *Muslim Theology* (London: Luzac and Company, Ltd., 1964).

The use of parallels, apparent or actual, in the interpretation of any work, whether cultural or literary, is fraught with dangers. Despite varying opinions, it has yet to be conclusively demonstrated that Arab life, however ancient, can be used to illustrate that of the Hebrews. George E. Mendenhall, writing in *The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), states (pp. 4-5): "Method begins, then, with the critical examination of widely held assumptions; it is this that has induced me to reject many of these assumptions as untenable. Frequently, they are modern word labels that lent themselves to the biblical materials in the nineteenth century when the 'Bedouin mirage' seemed to explain everything important about the puzzling aspects of biblical history. It was assumed then that the early Israelite tribes were nomads in the process of sedentarization, but now it seems most improbable that the Bedouin type of nomadism even existed in the Late Bronze Age. The gap between the Bedouin culture and the ancient realities of life is now usually glossed over by the term 'seminomad,' which is not subject to any cultural analysis or description." In view of Mendenhall's rather strict censure of the "Bedouin mirage," it is increasingly difficult to accept without demonstration of validity the use of such parallels in explaining or interpreting the Biblical text.

Further, as Roland de Vaux remarks in *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, "Even in the comparatively small area of the Middle East, there have always been different types of nomads, and what is true of one type is not necessarily true of another..." (p. 4). Both Drs. Macdonald and Seale have overlooked this principle in their applications of early Arab life to that in the Hebrew Bible. To refer Hebrew culture to that of early Arab nomads without also comparing the life of surrounding peoples seems to overlook nearer possibilities for the sake of retaining cultural or national purity; but can life develop in so clean a manner? Dr. Seale's repudiation of many of the proposed solutions to textual problems offered by Albright and Dahood seems to stem from such a desire to see the Hebrews as in a cultural vacuum, hermetically sealed off from peoples near at hand, and connected closely only to those far away.

In the end, acceptance of cultural parallels becomes a matter of careful choice based on innumerable facts and factors. Seeming similarities will always exist to trap the unwary; and while some of the traps will prove to be correct, enough remain to call into question such a wholesale acceptance as that advocated by Dr. Seale's book.

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The Sense of Unity : The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture. By Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1973. xviii plus 151 pp. (12-3/8″×12-3/8″).

The study of the history of architecture in the context of its relations to philosophic traditions is an established genre in Western scholarship; Erwin Panofsky's studies of later medieval architecture in the context of Scholastic thought, and Rudolf Wittkower's interpretations of Renaissance architectural monuments in the age of Humanism have both become classics of the genre. In the present volume, Nader Ardalan, a prominent Iranian architect with strong traditionalist leanings, and Laleh Bakhtiar, a student of the relationships between Iranian traditional architecture and modern techniques, have attempted to place the rich and varied Persian architectural tradition in the context of mystical Sufi thought so prominent a part of Islam in Persia. They have done so in a volume full of exciting graphics and photographs, whose very size and shape, a foot square, reflect the book's basic thesis while perhaps symbolically fitting a conventional bookshelf rather poorly.

The book is organized conceptually; half the text deals with the morphology of basic architectural concepts—space, shape, surface, color, and matter—as they appear in Sufi thought. A second section relates traditional Persian architectural forms to the basic concepts, while a third concerns itself with the realization of these concepts not only in the elements of buildings, but in the arrangement of buildings into streets, bazaars, planned complexes, and cities themselves.

The traditionalist bias of the authors, not without its exponents in Western scholarship, is coupled in *The Sense of Unity* with an idealist philosophical position. The approach posits the interpretation of buildings and complexes of buildings from an essentially metaphysical point of view, upon the relationship between Sufi culture and symbolism and the natural environment. The relationship between symbol, form, and perception is summarized by Seyyed Hossein Nasr in his introduction: Rejecting the rationalist thesis that symbols are derived by man as tools of his own making in order to put forth ideas, Nasr states that "symbolic forms, which are sensible aspects of the metaphysical reality of things, exist whether or not man is aware of them—'man does not create symbols, he is transformed by them.'" The quite obvious problem which this philosophical approach may create for the reader or reviewer is that, whether or not a prisoner of one's own tradition, the radical philosophical basis of the entire work may put the reader in the position of a fascinated bystander, viewing but not directly participating in the intellectual process forming the thesis of the book.

Since it would be foolhardy for a reviewer to take up the rationalist-idealist arguments which lie at the root of an assessment of the methodological premises of *The Sense of Unity*, one must look rather to the book's substance to make any meaningful judgments. Internally, on its own terms, the work is well-constructed. The graphics, especially the plans of building-complexes, are extraordinary,

most notably the plan of the bazaars of Isfahan, which in its asymmetrical complexity demonstrates a series of tiny unities within multiplicity which belies the accompanying text. The readership has been carefully considered in the inclusion of a transliteration note and in the careful treatment of transliterated terms; there is a well-written glossary, the notes are a great aid to understanding the complexities of the text, and the photographic captions are similarly useful. The foreword by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, which is essential if the reader is indeed to derive a sense of unity from the volume, states the philosophical premises of the work in uncompromising terms. As a basic introduction to certain components of Sufi thought, the first major section of the book is somewhat amorphous within its conceptual headings, but the explanatory legends on the illustrations go a long way toward orienting the reader. The reader will find little discussion of the evolution of style and structure as separate entities, dependent on the individual will of patrons, the individual innovations of unfortunately nameless architects, and the vagaries of political and economic history; the interest of the authors lies elsewhere. The text, in its consideration of fine-art and folk-art architecture, and of pre-Islamic and Islamic buildings, provides many insights into the unique aspects of the traditional Persian architecture and its relationship to royal foundations.

The Sense of Unity appears at an opportune moment in the development of the study of Persian architecture. Recent studies dealing with the Islamic city, with patronage in the history of Persian architecture, and with the development of chronologies of buildings, are usefully counterpointed by Ardalan and Bakhtiar. The authors have presented in comprehensive scope and admirable format a view by Persian scholars of their own architectural tradition, with its own sets of priorities and its own internal complexities. It would seem that *The Sense of Unity* poses two challenges to the reader: first, the examination of its premises in a broader Islamic context, and second, an examination of the general orientation of Western scholarship toward the architectural tradition of another culture, with its differences both in style and form, and in the deeper realms of method, symbolism, and philosophical orientation.

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Sayyid Ahmad. A Study of the Religious Reform Movement of Sayyid Ahmad of Rā'e Bareli. By Muhammad Hedayetullah. Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1970. xvi plus 180 pp. Rs. 15.00.

This book sets out to prove that Sayyid Ahmad of Rā'e Bareli (1786-1831), sometimes referred to as *Shahīd*, was not concerned either with *jihād* (in the sense of war or preparing for war) or with Muslim nationalism during the early phase of his mission, 1818-1821. His sole concern during this period appears to have been the decadent condition of Islam in India and his desire for reform. His

exclusive emphasis is on the Qur'ān and the Sunnah and a rejection of the eclectic, syncretistic, and heterodox tendencies of Sufism. It was only after 1821 that Sayyid Ahmad ceased his peripatetic preaching and turned to militancy and *jihād*.

In his zeal to refute and correct extant material by Pakistani and Indian Muslim nationalists who have ascribed nationalistic motives to the early part of Sayyid Ahmad's life, the author has produced a work replete with repetitions and redundancies. One is left wondering whether the author will ever say anything new, and in the opinion of this reader, he in fact does not. All six chapters begin, continue, and end with the same theme. Furthermore, sources dismissed as unreliable because of nationalist bias are quoted elsewhere in the book as authoritative. The criteria for judging the accuracy or validity of any material appears to be its support of the author's thesis.

Mr. Hedayetullah's primary reliance on *al-Sirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* (containing the early religious teachings of Sayyid Ahmad as reported by his disciple Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismā'īl, 1779-1831) limits his scope of investigation and turns his efforts to prove his thesis into mere "contentions" (his word). The reader is at a loss trying to find valid evidence as in the final analysis it is the argument of the silence of this source that is used as the ultimate proof.

The author appears also to take it for granted that Sufis were not involved in matters of government or politics, rather that they were passive and concerned exclusively with spiritual matters. Thus there is a tendency throughout the work not only to make a distinction but in a sense to set up a polarity between the religious-mystical and the political-nationalist, ignoring the militant reforming Sufi orders throughout Islamic history. Furthermore, there is an incipient attempt to separate "religion" from "state," a concept alien to Islam; for although the idea of nationalism might be a later development in the history of Islam, it has always been inherent in the Islamic *umma*'s understanding of itself as a community under God.

It is unfortunate that in addition to the problems in content noted above, this work also suffers from certain rather obvious stylistic disadvantages. The book is often repetitious and contains much redundant material that detracts from the main theme. One suspects it might have served greater advantage for him to have condensed the contents of this volume into a more tightly structured and concise article.

The Hartford Seminary Foundation WADI Z. HADDAD
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The Khilafat Movement in India, 1919-1924. By A. C. Niemeijer. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972. viii plus 263 pp.

This volume, the sixty-second in the series *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, is a detailed study of the Indian Khilāfat movement of the early 1920s. Other studies of the same Khilāfat movement have been recently attempted

by Dr. K. K. Aziz and Dr. Gail Minault, of which the former has been published and the latter, a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Pennsylvania, is likely to be published shortly.

Before the Kemalist abolition of it in 1924, the institution of the caliphate, which had come into existence at the death of Muḥammad, had through the centuries experienced a number of transformations in role and significance, and its continuity had even been interrupted. In 1924 it came to an overdue end and the Muslim *umma* settled down to a mutual coexistence of its units in nation states without the pretence of preserving as a symbol of its unity a nominal and largely 'mythical' head of the community whom it called a caliph, but whose rule had ceased to be universal since the rise of the successor states of the Umayyads in Morocco and Spain, and whose role was largely symbolic since the fall of al-Mutawakkil in 861.

But the Muslims of certain areas, especially of the areas in which they constituted a numerical minority, such as India, clung desperately to the myth of caliphate before its demise in 1924. During the years 1919-1924 Indian Muslim pan-Islamism allied itself with Indian (predominantly Hindu) nationalism to salvage the concept of Khilāfat. The work under review is a history of that struggle.

Dr. Niemeijer deals with his subject matter in broad sweeps. He goes back to the interaction of pan-Islamism and nationalism in nineteenth-century India and examines the anatomy of the short-lived Hindu-Muslim entente. Chapters IV to VI are concerned with the Khilāfat movement itself and examine its start, organization, action and crisis in the Indian as well as international context. The final chapter evaluates the movement.

The author's treatment of his subject is scholarly, and he has drawn upon large resources of British official records, published and unpublished, as well as on a large number of other published studies. There is no indication that he is also familiar with Urdu sources, many of which have been used by Dr. Minault in her thesis. But a work which has made such extensive use of the British documents is welcome in its own right. It is a valuable contribution to modern Indo-Muslim history. The style is clear but not distinguished.

University of Toronto AZIZ AHMAD
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History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724), Vol. I (Mainly Political and Military Aspects). Edited by H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi. Hyderabad, Deccan: Published under the Authority of the Government of Andhara Pradesh, 1973. xvi plus 653 pp. Rs. 110.

This monumental work is a distinguished successor to Ghulam Yazdani, *Early History of the Deccan*, and is the first large-scale history so far undertaken of the Muslim period in the Deccan. Of its two editors, Professor Sherwani is the *doyen* of the historiography of the Deccan, while Dr. Joshi is also a distinguished scholar. Besides the two eminent editors, its contributors include other well-known

scholars, including A. Mahdi Husain (an authority on the Tughluqs and a translator of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa), S. A. Q. Husaini, P. B. Desai, R. Subramanyam, Radhey Shyam, N. Ramesan and A. R. Kulkarni.

Dr. Joshi's chapter on the historical geography of medieval Deccan is thought-provoking, though one may disagree with some of his conclusions. The Khaljī and Tughluq rule in the Deccan is the subject of the second chapter. The next chapter, on the Sultanate of Ma'bar, is especially valuable as very little information has so far been collected on it; this chapter constitutes the first comprehensive study in English of that tiny and ephemeral Sultanate.

Hindu Kingdoms of the Deccan, contemporary of the Muslim dominions and in chronic conflict with them, are ably discussed in lengthy and well-written chapters on Vijyanagar, the Reddi principalities and the Marathas. The very informative chapter on the political history of the Bahmanids is followed by a short appendix on the economic and social conditions under them. There are illuminating chapters on the successor states of the Bahmanids, the Niẓām Shāhis, the 'Ādil Shāhis and the Quṭb Shāhīs with whose history that of the interlinked one of 'Imād Shāhis and Barīdis has been telescoped. Khāndesh is, strictly speaking, Central India rather than Deccan; but its history has also been included in the volume. Finally, there is an illuminating chapter on the Mughal conquest of the Deccan written by Professor Kishori Sajun Lal, whose *History of the Khaljis* is still regarded as a classic.

As the title indicates, this volume is essentially a political and military history of the medieval Deccan. The Muslim period in that area had much more than a military or political significance. It gave to Muslim India early masterpieces of Urdu literature in the southern dialects, contributed a great deal to the development and patronage of Indian music, evolved a new school of painting, and produced a pattern of Indo-Muslim culture somewhat different from that of the north Indian mainstream. Let us hope the rich cultural heritage of Muslim Deccan—and medieval Hindu Deccan—will be covered in the next volume by a brace of equally distinguished scholars.

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New French Imperialism, 1880-1910 : The Third Republic and Colonial Expansion. By James J. Cooke. Hamden, Conn. : Archon Books, 1973. 223 pp. $ 14.00.

It is perhaps a comment on the historiography of French imperialism in the Anglo-Saxon world to note that the best general study of the subject available in the English language has been for over a decade the translation of Henri Brunschvig's *Myths and Realities of French Colonial Imperialism*. A slim, perceptive, topically organized discussion of aspects of French colonial expansion, Brunschvig's book was in effect a kind of research proposal and not a balanced historical treatment. Professor James Cooke's book is therefore a useful addition

to the growing literature on French imperialism. Cooke is primarily interested in the domestic political background of French colonial expansion in the period 1880-1910. He focuses upon the interplay of political factions within the French colonial lobby and the diplomatic moves of France in the great power rivalries which preceeded World War I.

Unfortunately, Cooke conducted his research before the Quai d'Orsay archives for the period were fully opened to scholars. He does not appear to have been as enterprising in seeking out additional sources as he might have been. (One looks in vain for references to the Terrier Mss., which contain the papers of the Comité de l'Afrique Française, the principal French colonial pressure group.) As a result, the analysis does not penetrate very far into the internal workings of the French political system. The economic interests involved are seldom given serious consideration, and curious for a book which spends half its time on the Moroccan Question, there is no mention of the Compagnie marocaine, the principal instrument by which the French big banks sought to dominate the Moroccan economy. (On which see the work of Pierre Guillen, *Les Emprunts Marocains, 1902-1904* [Paris, 1971] and a series of articles published in French journals from 1965.)

By concentrating his attention upon the rivalries among the major colonial figures, Eugène Etienne, Théophile Delcassé, and Gabriel Hanoteau, Professor Cooke has overemphasized both the role of personalities and of the colonial lobby in the working out of Moroccan policy. His fascination with Eugène Etienne, perhaps the most important expansionist in the Chamber of Deputies, has led him to exaggerate the influence of the man and to misunderstand his role in the process. (Cf. C. Andrew and A. S. Kanya-Forstner, "The French 'Colonial Party': Its composition, aims and influence, 1885-1914," *The Historical Journal*, XIV [1971]).

Although the book claims to be about French colonial expansion in general, there is relatively little about French interests in Asia and no mention of the Comité de l'Asie Française, the pressure group concerned with the Levant, Indo-China and the Pacific. This omission helps explain the judgment that the colonial group declines after 1912, when Morocco becomes a French protectorate. While this is clearly true of Africa, it now seems likely that interests merely shifted to Asia and far from declining may actually have grown stronger in the immediate post-war period.

Finally, as a guide to the diplomatic history of French colonial expansion, especially of the Moroccan Question, the book is unreliable. The interest of Spain in Morocco is not taken seriously, and the roles of both Britain and Germany do not appear to have been fully grasped. To attempt to discuss both the great power rivalries and the internal workings of French politics in the space of some 200 pages is probably far too ambitious an enterprise at the present state of the art. In summary, Cooke's book makes a modest and useful contribution to the history of the French colonial lobby. Despite the defects noted above, it is a reasonably good general book on French imperialism,

and in the absence of anything better it may safely be recommended together with Brunschvig to beginning students.

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EDMUND BURKE, III

The U.S.S.R. and the Middle East. Edited by Michael Confino and Shimon Shamir. New York : John Wiley and Sons, 1973. xxii plus 441 pp. $ 21.50.

This book is the product of a conference on the Soviet Union and the Middle East held at Tel Aviv University under the auspices of the School of History. The conference was organized by the Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies and the Russian and East European Research Center. Nineteen Israeli and seventeen European and American scholars, specialists in Middle Eastern and Soviet Studies, participated. The conference conducted seven sessions between December 26 and 30, 1971.

The book is divided into two parts. In part one, "The Soviet Thrust," participants analyze "the making of Soviet policy," "the Soviet posture in the Middle East," "the Soviet Union, Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict," and "economic consideration," mainly oil and the Persian Gulf. In part two, "trends in Middle Eastern politics," "communism in Egypt and the Sudan," and "communism in the Fertile Crescent" are discussed.

It is tempting in a conference of this nature to exaggerate the Soviet penetration into the Middle East. Undoubtedly, the Soviets have established themselves as a Mediterranean power and exercise some influence in Syria and Iraq as well as among the Palestinians, but little elsewhere. Egypt has already 'slipped' to the right, and the Soviets have had no diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia. It is still premature to assess the impact of the Soviet-Libyan arms deal. The Soviets even face 'dilemmas' with regimes they consider friendly. These dilemmas are not unique to the Middle East but confront the Soviets in the Third World as a whole. Problems like nationalism, military dictatorships, and the nature of the social and economic problems of underdevelopment present ideological puzzles to Soviet leadership. Under Stalin, ideological considerations were subordinated to the purposes of the Russian State. While this appears to be the policy of the present regime, the debate over this issue goes on within the Soviet hierarchy. Superpower considerations and the split with China cast a dark shadow on Soviet dreams in the Middle East.

The Soviet thrust may be explained in terms of strategic needs, economic opportunities or even ideological imperatives. The most important single reason that gave the Soviets their golden opportunity in the Middle East, i.e., the Arab-Israeli conflict, is glossed over by all participants. Only one writer, Professor Vatikiotis, underscores the connection by contending that solution to the conflict will deprive the U.S.S.R. of the raison d'être of its presence in the Middle East.

The second part of the book deals with the communist parties in Egypt and the Sudan, Syria, Iraq, and Jordan. It consists of reports

culled mainly from the Arabic press by Israeli scholars. It is useful to those who have no access to the original sources and who would want a quick view of the strength and operations of communist parties in the Arab world.

Useful as this volume may be, its contents have been overtaken by events. Held in 1971, the conference could not take into account Sadat's expulsion of the Russians from Egypt in 1972, the 1973 October War and Henry Kissinger's 'shuttle diplomacy' and his attempt to evict the Russians from the Middle East altogether. Critics of Kissinger's diplomacy accuse him of ignoring the vital role that the Soviet Union can still play in the Middle East. The Soviet Union has now become a Mediterranean power with recognized interests in the Middle East. Furthermore, the intractability of the Arab-Israeli conflict will surely guarantee a place for the Soviet Union in that troubled area of the world.

Like all edited or collected volumes, this book suffers from repetition and bulkiness. It is nonetheless a good book with a great deal of information and insight. Taking into consideration the place of the conference and the persuasion of the participants, a commendable degree of objectivity has been achieved. However, Israel is never faulted in any situation and the Arabs receive more than their fair share of slanted remarks. "Petulant Arab leaders" occurs in a number of places; and Elie Kedourie seems never to tire of preaching that "the most persistent political tradition of Islam is Oriental despotism" (p. 333).

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FAUZI M. NAJJAR

Survival or Hegemony? The Foundations of Israeli Foreign Policy. By Samuel J. Roberts. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973. x plus 163 pp. $ 7.50 cl.; $ 2.95 pa.

Truman, The Jewish Vote and the Creation of Israel. By John Snetsinger. Stanford, Cal.: Hoover Institution Press, 1974. xv plus 208 pp. $ 6.95.

These two monographs complement each other well. Roberts' examination of Israeli foreign policy draws a broad panorama, from the Jewish kingdoms of antiquity to the post-1967 era. Snetsinger writes about one episode, the creation of Israel, and illustrates how it became involved in American politics. Both authors have similar perspectives and draw similar conclusions in their studies.

In tracing Zionist diplomacy back to ancient times Roberts observes that there have been consistent patterns. Among these have been involvement in great power politics and alignment with one or another of the major powers of the day. In both ancient and modern times, the Jews, "because of their politico-military weakness vis-à-vis other peoples, [have] been compelled to rely upon the good will of the principal decision makers of the imperial power of the age for the attainment of their major political goals" (p. 5). In both ancient and modern times they have suffered from changing internal politics

of the great powers and from shifting power alliances in the eastern Mediterranean. The ancient Israelites and modern Jewry both became effective politico-military forces after lengthy mistreatment by alien hands. Both showed no reluctance in the use of force to attain political hegemony in their chosen land. When force was not practicable the alternative was skillful use of diplomacy. Both modern and ancient Jewish states benefited from the internal political dissensions of hostile neighbors, and both offset threats from powers within the region by alignment with a geographically remote superpower. Politically ideology from ancient times to the modern era has stressed loyalty and subordination of personal interests to the Jewish state.

These patterns of diplomacy were reactivated, says Roberts, during the British mandatory era. During the early mandatory period the relatively weak Yishuv in Palestine followed a gradualist policy based on diplomacy and negotiation rather than reliance on military prowess. Nevertheless, he states, Jewish nationalists "never appreciated the authenticity and rationality of Arab anxiety in the face of growing Jewish strength." Although they had no intention of deliberately hurting the Arabs, the latter were viewed "solely as an impediment to the realization of Zionist objectives in Palestine" (p. 23). By the outbreak of World War II, with growing Jewish opposition to the 1939 White Paper, and the spread of turbulence in Palestine, Zionist policy moved from gradualist moderation to militant activism in which the use of force was vital.

Since the Jewish State was established in 1948 its policies too have followed traditional patterns of Jewish nationalist diplomacy. There has been no reluctance to use force when it is deemed necessary by the nation's leaders. After the demise of Great Britain as the predominant power in the region, Israel's leaders sought close alignment with the United States to offset what they consider to be the Soviet threat and the Russio-Arab entente.

Although written from the American perspective, Snetsinger's study of Israel's creation during the Truman era illustrates in greater detail how Zionist diplomacy followed many of the patterns described above in relations with the United States government. When Truman became president, "the battle lines in Washington were already drawn between adherents of a Palestine policy that catered to the Arabs and others who insisted upon decisions backing Jewish claims in the Middle East" (p. 12). While sympathetic to Jewish aspirations in Palestine, the new president was unfamiliar with the intricate workings of diverse pressure groups interested in the problem. Initially, writes the author, Truman's Palestine policy "could be considered a complete failure" (p. 32). He succeeded in alienating Jews, Arabs, and British in varying degrees. As the failure became more apparent, "his growing sensitivity on the subject caused moments of anger" (p. 33). The numerous and diverse strategies used by the Zionists to win over the new president were skillful, shrewd, and finally successful. These efforts required every range of technique—use of humanitarian arguments, threats to withhold votes in one of the closest United States elections, manipulation of

the president through his most intimate friends, and others which could be admired by any diplomat in the game of nations.

Two men were most influential behind the White House scenes. They were David K. Niles and Clark Clifford, both members of the president's personal staff. Through their sympathetic intercession on behalf of the Zionists the President was finally convinced to support the establishment of a Jewish State in the face of strong opposition from those most involved in American diplomacy. Clifford, although genuinely sympathetic to Zionist aspirations in Palestine was even more concerned about loss of strategic Jewish votes, especially in New York during the precariously close presidential race of 1948 when both Republican and Democratic candidates attempted to outbid each other in their competition for the state's crucial Jewish votes.

Truman's political bargaining on Palestine antagonized not only the State Department Arabists, but also Secretary of State George Marshall and the country's UN delegation. The latter incident was a comedy, if not a tragedy, of errors in which the American UN delegation and the president mixed their signals, resulting in nearly diametrically opposed public positions—one at the UN in support of abandoning partition for an international trusteeship, the other taken by the president giving immediate recognition to the new Jewish State and acceptance of partition.

Snetsinger concludes that much of the adulation won by Truman for the creation of Israel has been misplaced. The president had no commitment to Zionism. When he withheld his support, "he was acting out of consideration for the exigencies of national security. Similarly, when his policies were in accord with the Zionists' program, he was motivated primarily, if not solely, by political exigencies." In summary, his policy "offers an extraordinary example of foreign policy conducted in line with short-range political expedience rather than long-range national goals" (p. 140).

Truman's policy, however, complemented long-range Zionist plans and policies in that it permitted and encouraged supporters of the Jewish State to ally themselves with the principal "imperial power of the age for attainment of their major political goals." Neither American nor Zionist modes of behavior are unusual in the game of nations. What is unusual is the way in which these two distant countries, one small and powerless without the backing of the other, and the other a superpower, responded to each other in their diplomatic and political maneuvers.

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DON PERETZ

SHORTER NOTICES

Symbolic Domination : Cultural Form and Historical Change in Morocco. By Paul Rabinow. Chicago and London : The University of Chicago Press, 1975. 107 pp. 3 maps and 11 photographs. $ 8.95.

Taking up the seventeenth-century Moroccan saint, Sidi Lahcen Lyussi, who has been studied by Jacques Berque (1958) and interpreted by Clifford Geertz (1968), Paul Rabinow describes the gradual ideological deterioration of the sacred community which was formed by the saint's family in the hills outside Sefrou. After an historical introduction, consisting of a perfunctory reworking of secondary sources, anthropologist Rabinow devotes the bulk of his text to a report of his interviews with people in and around the village of Sidi Lahcen. From the information gained, he describes the gradual weakening of the numinous influence of the saint's family and the accompanying social conflicts brought on first by the French protectorate and then by the period of Moroccan independence.

The book suffers from conciseness. Often the reader is not made aware of the significance of certain illustrative material and is left to conclude that the author has fallen into triviality, for example, in an extended discussion of the supposed influence of the Americans upon Moroccan life during World War II.

A number of Arabic words are given either misleading or inaccurate translations. Several anomalies are to be noted in the footnotes. No Arabist reader can be content with the amateurish way in which the author represents Moroccan words, the strictures of publishing economics notwithstanding.

Tunis, Tunisia R. MARSTON SPEIGHT

The Desert and the Sown : Nomads in the Wider Society. Edited by Cynthia Nelson. Berkeley, Calif. : Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1973. 173 pp.

It may be unfair for an historian to review a collection of essays authored by ethnographers and sociologists. But, then, historians need to understand and know what social scientists are doing, and the latter should write for any literate reader, in clear English and without jargon. A recent book, *The Desert and the Sown : Nomads in the Wider Society* (in the monograph series produced by the Institute of International Studies at the University of California, Berkeley), meets the various requirements just suggested. It is a collection of essays by various scholars edited by Cynthia Nelson, who also contributed if not the best at least one of the most suggestive essays in this collection.

The editor's essay "Women and Power in Nomadic Societies of

the Middle East" draws on the work of other participants at the International Conference on Nomadism held at the American University in Cairo in March 1972. It was this conference that was the genesis of the present volume. What is especially intriguing about Cynthia Nelson's essay is her thesis that women wield much more power in nomadic societies of the Middle East than has ever been admitted, or noticed, by mostly male authors who have been too quick to limit their analysis in terms of the assumptions of "partriarchal politics." No doubt the argument continues, and it will be interesting to see what will come of this new and suggestive line for further research.

The general purpose of the conference was to analyze and describe nomad-sedentary relations and to develop a model for further testing of various hypotheses. Professor Ernest Gellner provides a useful "Introduction to Nomadism." The basic argument is presented in "A General Perspective on Nomad-Sedentary Relations in the Middle East," an essay by Frederick Barth. Other specialists—W. W. Swidler, Talal Asad, Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed, Abbas Mohammed, Donald P. Cole, G. Reza Fazel, Abdalla Said Bujra, and G. J. Obermeyer—contributed reports, many of them based on recent field work, on more specific issues defined geographically (Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt, etc.) or topically (Developmental Politics, The Bedouin as a Military Force, etc.).

All of the essays are readable, present clearly defined arguments and offer the results of field work and suggestions for further research. It is certainly a book that most Middle East specialists will want to read.

The University of Georgia ALF ANDREW HEGGOY
Athens, Ga.

Mīrzā Malkum Khān. A Biographical Study in Iranian Modernism. By Hamid Algar. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973. 344 pp. $ 13.50.

This excellently researched and elegantly written study brings a useful corrective to some of the descriptions of Mīrzā Malkum Khān which were based on somewhat narcissistic Western descriptions. The concept of Westernization or modernization involves such relativism that it was perhaps necessary to allow nearly a century to elapse before this more objective study could be written. However, it is not only from the standpoint of a longer historical perspective but also with the critical and, one might add, spiritual, perspectives of the author that the present study excels.

The author is a British Muslim who sees through much of the commercial, political, and even religious opportunism of Mīrzā Malkum Khān. The book is clearly a specialist work for students of modern Iranian history, but the issues of the inadequate values of modernization in Iran in the nineteenth century apply equally well to other parts of the Muslim world in other generations including our own. Some of the most important sections in the book in this

regard are the descriptions of Mīrzā Malkum Khān's disparagement of the traditional Muslim religious leadership of his time.

World Council of Churches JOHN B. TAYLOR
Geneva, Switzerland

The U.S.S.R. and the Arabs. By Jaan Pennar. New York : Crane, Russak and Co., Inc., 1973. xii plus 180 pp. $ 9.75.

During the last ten years, Western as well as Israeli scholars and writers have published several books and numerous articles concerning the relationship between the Soviet Union as a super power and the Middle East. This present concern stems from the contradictions between Soviet and United States interests in the Middle East, particularly the complete polarization of these interests in terms of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The book under review is confined to a discussion of the ideological dimensions of the Arab-Soviet relationship, including the influences of Soviet interpretations of communist doctrine.

In discussing these ideological influences, Pennar focuses on two principal themes : (1) Soviet theories of national liberation as applied to the Third World in general and to the socialist-oriented Arab countries in particular, and (2) the relationship, including differences and similarities, between Arab socialism and scientific socialism, analyzed in terms of Soviet policy objectives in the Middle East. According to Pennar, the Soviet theoretician uses the idea of a non-capitalist path of development (meaning that underdeveloped countries can switch to communism without having to pass through a capitalistic stage) as a tool to approach and discuss the process of development in radical-oriented Arab countries, to reinforce the USSR's alliance with the liberation movement in Arab countries, and to provide a rationale for the Soviet hope of eventual communistic takeover in these countries. Throughout the book Pennar attempts to bring to the fore the difficulties the non-capitalist path approach encounters, hindering its ultimate realization in the Arab world. There are too many forces against it, not the least of which are Islam, Arab nationalism and local socialism. Nasserism, the Ba'th, and the FLN —discussed in great detail—emphasize the above three factors in one form or another.

Pennar's book uses extensively both Soviet and Arab references. Although the book lacks a bibliography of the relevant references, it is well written, clear, and concise. It makes good reading for all students of Middle Eastern politics.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Islamic Art Exhibition. Although The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has in the past held exhibits of small sections of its Islamic collection, it became evident several years ago that it had become so comprehensive that a permanent installation should be provided. Now, after two years of planning and labor, an exhibit of over sixteen hundred pieces is magnificently housed in ten galleries. This installation, made possible through the generosity of Trustee Emeritus and former President of the Museum Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., is under the general supervision of Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, Consultative Chairman of the Museum's Department of Islamic Art, and was designed by Mr. Stuart Silver, Administrator for Design. Covering the period from the seventh to the nineteenth centuries and the area from India to Morocco and Spain, it is "probably the largest comprehensive collection of Islamic art in the world [and] has never before been systematically exhibited as a whole." About half of the Museum's Islamic objects are on display. More are stored in study-storage facilities readily accessible to students and scholars.

Starting with an introductory gallery and one devoted to the Museum's excavations in Nishapur, Iran, during the 1930s and 1940s, the exhibition continues in roughly chronological order. It includes examples of handsomely tooled leather book bindings, calligraphy, mosaics, jewelry, carpets (including the sixteenth-century "Emperor" carpet, woven with eighteen shades of wool), and many miniature paintings from the schools of Timurid and Safavid Persia, Mughal India, and Ottoman Turkey.

Also included are eighth- and ninth-century ceramic, glass and bronze objects as well as textiles and pages from early Qur'āns. The method of decoration employed on a ninth-century luster-painted glass beaker (from Egypt or Iraq) represented a new technique which was soon after used in ceramics and made its impact on the pottery industry in general, spreading from Iraq west to Spain and on eventually to America.

Among the many highlights is the early eighteenth-century Nur al-Dīn house from Damascus. Reconstructed at the Museum, the lavishly painted wooden and gilt panels and ceiling containing abstract designs and Arabic inscriptions, the marble floor of geometric design, the stained glass windows high in the walls, and the gurgling fountain provide a glimpse into another world. Also of major significance are the miniatures, especially the sixteenth-century *Shah-Nameh* from Iran and the *Khamseh* from India; the "Simonetti" carpet, made in Cairo during the second half of the fifteenth century, its importance illustrated by the fact that the Museum provides a separate room for it; a magnificent fourteenth-century eleven-foot *mihrab* from the Madrasa Imami in Isfahan; and an elaborately carved wooden Qur'ān stand, also from the fourteenth century.

The design of the galleries reflects a sensitivity to the objects on display. Mr. Silver is to be commended for his imaginative use of hexagons as well as other architectural devices.

A visit to The Metropolitan Museum of Art to view this impressive collection will be rewarding to anyone interested in art in general or Islamic art in particular. This extraordinary exhibit has arrived at a time of increasing interest in Islamic culture. It should not be missed.

HELEN MCKINLEY

International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa. For the first time in its century-long history, the International Congress of Orientalists will meet in Latin America. The event will take place in Mexico City, August 3-8, 1976, under the Congress's new name: International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa.

For further information, write to:

Secretary General
30th International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa
El Colegio de México
Guanajuato 125
México 7, D.F., México

The following organizations will meet in conjunction with the Congress: The International Association of Orientalist Librarians, The International Union of Orientalists, The International Association of Sanskrit Studies, and The Latin American Association of Afro-Asian Studies.

Islamic-Christian Dialogue. A two-page announcement prepared by the Mission of the Libyan Arab Republic to the United Nations reports that Muslims and Christians from more than sixty countries gathered together in Tripoli, Libyan Arab Republic, from 1-6 Safar, 1396/February 1-6, 1976, to participate in a seminar jointly sponsored by the Libyan Arab Republic and the Vatican. The meetings aimed at "the creation of a new atmosphere of mutual confidence between the Muslim and Christian worlds" through an exchange of information about the history and culture of Islam and Christianity, hoping to clarify in a sincere and objective way the areas of agreement and of difference between the two religions.

Each of the following four specific topics was discussed by a Muslim and a Christian in a frank and positive dialogue:

1. Is it possible for religion to be an ideology for life?
2. The common bases of beliefs and spheres of meeting together in all fields of life.
3. Social justice, a fruit of the belief in God.

4. How can we eliminate faulty prejudices and weak confidence which still separate us from each other?

The participants adopted twenty-four resolutions and recommendations in which they affirmed their belief in one God and in the power of religion to achieve the objectives of respect for man, his right to live, and freedom, justice and equality for all. Denouncing all forms of religious persecution, racial discrimination, and tyranny, they "affirmed the necessity of undertaking joint efforts to support and exalt the spiritual values and ethical principles and the happiness of man." They also voiced support of the national rights of Palestinians to return to their homeland and urged the formation of a commission to investigate and report on the alteration of sacred Muslim and Christian sites in Palestine.

An expression of thanks and gratitude was extended to Colonel Mu'ammar al-Gathafi, Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, for his participation in the symposium.

The formation of a permanent joint committee, charged with the tasks of implementing the resolutions and recommendations and preparing for forthcoming symposia, concluded the conference.

HELEN MCKINLEY

Monogamy for non-Muslims. A bill to provide monogamy for non-Muslims in Malaysia was passed by the Dewan Rakyat on November 7, 1975. The Law Reform (Marriage and Divorce) Bill 1975 was introduced by Minister of Law and Attorney-General Tan Sri Abdul Kadir Yusof on November 4. Of great significance to women in particular, the bill was appropriately introduced during International Women's Year.

Reflecting the overwhelming wishes of non-Muslims for matrimonial reforms in Malaysia, the bill provides a uniform law for non-Muslims as a whole, with a few modifications where necessary for separate religious groups. The Minister explained that Buddhists, Hindus and Sikhs in Malaysia had been living under a legal vacuum without proper matrimonial relief. At present, Buddhists, Hindus and Sikhs, for the purpose of establishing legal evidence of marriage, could have their marriages registered under the Registration of Marriages Ordinance, 1952. This law, however, was not applicable to Christians or Muslims.

The bill does not apply to non-Muslims of native origins in Sabah and Sarawak and the aborigines in particular. The Attorney-General also said the law is not applicable to Muslims, since Muslim marriages are covered under Muslim law. Under Article 76 (2) of the Federal Constitution, Parliament is not empowered to make laws in respect of "any matters of Muslim laws except as provided therein."

From *Malaysian Digest*, November 30, 1975

New publications.

Islamochristiana, an annual published by the Pontificio Istituto di Studi Arabi in Rome. Intending to be a vehicle for Christian-Muslim dialogue, it will offer studies, annotated translations, reports on dialogue, and bibliographical material. Volume I was published in the late summer of 1975. (The July issue of *M.W.* will include individual listings of articles in its Survey of Periodicals.)

Price for Volume I (1975): 6,000 Italian lire (or the equivalent).

Editor and publisher:

Maurice Borrmans
Islamochristiana
Pontificio Istituto di Studi Arabi
Piazza S. Apollinare, 49
00186 Rome, Italy

The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, a quarterly journal in English "dealing with many of the key issues in the study of international relations and reflecting the global significance of the Middle East." The publisher is the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Jerusalem.

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SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

The list of periodicals regularly surveyed is published annually in the January issue. Other issues show only new entries for the quarter.

New entries :

A.O.	*Acta Orientalia*, Budapest.
Ind.	*Indonesia*, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.
J.As.	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
J.A.S.B.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, Dacca.
J.H.S.N.	*Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Ibadan.
J.R.E.	*Journal of Religious Ethics*, University of Montana, Missoula.
K.O.	*Kunst des Orients*, Wiesbaden.
M.E.S.	*Middle Eastern Studies*, London.
Orient	*Orient*. Deutsche Zeitschrift für Politik und Wirtschaft des Orients, Opladen.

I. *General and Miscellaneous, Manuscripts, libraries. History of Islamic Studies.*

3234 German Contribution to Arabic and Islamic Studies. Serajul Haque. *J.A.S.B.*, XIX (1974), 33-47.

3235 Gli studi arabo-islamici nella Università di Roma. Francesco Gabrieli. *O.M.*, LV, 1-2 (1975), 1-7.

3236 The Manuscripts of the *Seyahahtname* of Evliya Çelebi. Part I : The Archetype. Pierre A. MacKay. *D.I.*, LII (1975), 278-298.

3237 New Light on the Origin of the Term 'Baccalaureate.' R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young. *I.Q.*, XVIII, 1-2 (1975), 3-7.

3238 Notes sur les manuscrits à poèmes chleuhs du fonds berbère de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Paulette Galand-Pernet. *R.E.I.*, XLI (1973), 283-296.

3239 L'organisation des études concernant l'Islam et le Moyen Orient à l'Université de Californie. Jacques Waardenburg. *R.E.I.*, XLI (1973), 297-305.

II. *Pre-Islamic Arabia. Muḥammad. The Qur'ān. Ḥadīth.*

3240 The Qur'ān in Secular India. Hashim Amir Ali. *I.M.A.*, VI, 3 (1975), 78-89.

3241 The Role of the Qur'ān in the Development of the Shari'a. M. Hidayatullah. *I.M.A.*, VI, 3 (1975), 57-77.

III. *Religious Institutions. The Mosque. Religious Duties and Devotional Life. Ethics and Customs. Attitudes towards magic, etc. Sociology of Islam.*

See also nos. 3251, 3252, 3263, 3264, 3269, 3285.

3242 Essai d'inventaire chronologique des guides à l'usage des pèlerins du Caire. Yūsuf Rāġib. *R.E.I.*, XLI (1973), 259-380.

3243 AL-KHALĪLĪ'S QIBLA TABLE. David A. King. *J.N.E.S.*, XXXIV (1975), 81-122.

3244 POETRY AS A SOCIAL DOCUMENT: THE SOCIAL POSITION OF THE ARAB WOMAN AS REFLECTED IN THE POETRY OF NIZĀR QABBĀNĪ. Arieh Loya. *I.J.M.E.S.*, VI (1975), 481-494. (Essentially the same article appearing in *M.W.*, LXIII [1973], 39-52).

3245 THE SEPARATION OF STATE AND RELIGION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY ISLAMIC SOCIETY. Ira M. Lapidus. *I.J.M.E.S.*, VI (1975), 363-385.

IV. *Theology. Movements, sects*; *Shī'a. Philosophy. Sciences.*

See also no. 3288.

3246 ANTWORT AUF EINIGE FRAGEN ÜBER DIE RĀDĀNĪYA. Jürgen Jacobi. *D.I.*, LII (1975), 226-238.

3247 DIE ARABISCHEN STERNBILDER DES SÜDHIMMELS. (Fortsetzung und Schluss.) Paul Kunitszch. *D.I.*, LII (1975), 261-277.

3248 BĀBISM AND BAHĀ'ISM. 'Ali Raza Naqavi. *I.S.*, XIV (1975), 185-217.

3249 AL-BIRUNI'S LONGITUDES AND THEIR CONVERSION INTO MODERN VALUES. Hasan Askari Kazmi. *I.C.*, XLIX (1975), 165-176.

3250 THE CONCEPT OF CRITICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Zeki Velidi Togan. M. S. Khan, tr. *I.S.*, XIV (1975), 175-184.

3251 CONCEPT OF VALUE IN ISLAMIC THOUGHT. Muḥammad Azraf. *P.P.J.*, XIII, 1 (1974), 39-50.

3252 CONCEPT OF VALUE IN ISLAMIC THOUGHT. Mizānur Raḥmān. *P.P.J.*, XIII, 1 (1974), 10-23.

3253 JUSTICE IN ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHICAL ETHICS: MISKAWAYH'S MEDIATING CONTRIBUTION. Majid Fakhry. *J.R.E.*, III (1975), 243-254.

3254 AL-KINDI. DE RADIIS. M. T. d'Alverny and F. Hudry. *Archives*, XLIX (1974), 139-260.

3255 LE LIBRE ARBITRE DE L'HOMME ET LA JUSTIFICATION DE SON ASSUJETTISSEMENT À LA LOI DIVINE. TRADUCTION ET COMMENTAIRE DES CHAPITRES XXVII À XXXIII DU KITĀB AL-MUḤTAWĪ DE YŪSUF AL-BAṢĪR. *J.As.*, CCLXII (1974), 305-367; CCLXIII (1975), 51-92.

3256 THE MURJI'A, ĪMĀN AND ABŪ 'UBAYD. J. Merig Pessagno. *J.A.O.S.*, XCV (1975), 382-394.

3257 THE ORIGINS OF THE DRUZE RELIGION. (Fortsetzung.) David R. W. Bryer. *D.I.*, LII (1975), 239-260. (See also no. 3110.)

3258 SOME IMĀMĪ SHĪ'Ī VIEWS ON TAQIYYA. Etan Kohlberg. *J.A.O.S.*, XCV (1975), 395-402.

3259 ZUR ERSTAUSGABE VON AL-MĀTURĪDĪ, *Kitāb at-Tauḥīd*. Hans Daiber. *D.I.*, LII (1975), 299-313.

V. *Sufism. Sufi Orders. Saints.*

See also nos. 3281, 3309.

3260 THE SUHRAWARDIS. S. Moinul Haq. *J.P.H.S.*, XXIII (1975), 71-103.

VI. *Law. Politics; state; government. Nationalism. Socialism. Economics.*

See also nos. 3241, 3245, 3292, 3293.

3261 Aperçu sur les impôts du sol en Syrie au Moyen Âge. Claude Cahen. *J.E.S.H.O.*, XVIII (1975), 233-244.

3262 Authenticité et ouverture par Muḥammad Mzâlî. Maurice Borrmans, tr. *O.M.*, LV, 1-2 (1975), 29-48.

3263 Economic Development in Islam in Western Scholarship, II. Ahmad R. Haffar. *I.M.A.*, VI, 3 (1975), 5-29. (See also no. 3198.)

3264 *Hazz al-Quḥūf* : A New Source for the Study of the Fallāḥīn of Egypt in the xviiith and xviiith Centuries. Abd al Raheim A. Abd al Raheim. *J.E.S.H.O.*, XVIII (1975), 245-270.

3265 Local Government of Pakistan : An Analysis in Retrospect. Mumtaz Ahmad. *V.I.*, XXIII (1975), 161-182.

3266 Metayage and Tax-Farming in the Medieval Muslim Society. Ziaul Haque. *I.S.*, XIV (1975), 219-237.

3267 Politics, History and Culture in Nasser's Egypt. Jack Crabbs, Jr. *I.J.M.E.S.*, VI, 4 (1975), 386-420.

3268 A Reassessment : The Young Turks, Their Politics and Anti-Colonial Struggle, II. Dogu Ergil. *I.C.*, XLIX (1975), 133-149. (See also no. 3207.)

3269 Social Change and Electoral Behavior in Turkey : Toward a "Critical Realignment"? Ergun Özbudun and Frank Tachau. *I.J.M.E.S.*, VI, 4 (1975), 460-480.

VII. *Arabic and other relevant languages. Literature, culture, art. Education. Universities.*

See also nos. 3237, 3238, 3244, 3250, 3259, 3291.

3270 The Arabic Lyrical Phenomenon in Context. Jaroslav Stetkevych. *J.A.L.*, VI (1975), 57-77.

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Other Recent Publications. 154-155.

3272 La fonction du Ribat à Bagdad du ve siècle au début du viie siècle. Jacqueline Chabbi. *R.E.I.*, XLII (1974), 101-121.

3273 Ibn al-Mu'tazz : Dair 'Abdūn. A Structural Analysis. Renate Jacobi. *J.A.L.*, VI (1975), 35-56.

3274 Inscriptions Seljoukides et salles à coupoles de Qazwin en Iran. Janine Sourdel-Thomine. *R.E.I.*, XLII (1974), 3-43.

3275 The 'Knot' *Qaṣīda* of Bībī Ḥayātī. Nasrallah Pourjavady and Peter Lamborn Wilson. *S.I.*, X, 1-2 (1973), 80-86.

3276 Language and Theme in the Short Stories of Yūsuf Idrīs. S. Somekh. *J.A.L.*, VI (1975), 89-100.

3277 Le Masǧid-i Ǧamī' de Qazwin. Donald N. Wilber. *R.E.I.*, XLI (1973), 199-229.
3278 The Metre of Ibn Quzmān : A Classical Approach. T. J. Gorton. *J.A.L.*, VI (1975), 1-29.
3279 The Minaret of Ǧām (Afghanistan). Judi Moline. *K.O.*, IX, 1-2 (1975), 131-148.
3280 My Beloved Rises from Her Sleep. Mahmoud Darweesh. B. M. Bennani, tr. *J.A.L.*, VI (1975), 101-106.
3281 Night and Silence : Experience and Language in Romanticism and Mysticism. M. Abdel-Hai. *J.A.L.*, VI (1975), 107-124.
3282 Un nouveau corpus des inscriptions arabes de Palestine. Moshé Sharon. *R.E.I.*, XLII (1974), 185-191.
3283 On al-Tijānī the Sudanese Poet. M. M. Badawi. *J.A.L.*, VI (1975), 125-129.
3284 An Outline of the Development of Modern Arabic Literature. Shmuel Moreh. *O.M.*, LV, 1-2 (1975), 8-28.
3285 Sex and Society in Yūsuf Idrīs : 'Qā' al-Madīna'. Catherine Cobham. *J.A.L.*, VI (1975), 78-88.
3286 Ten Modern Arabic Poems. M. M. Badawi, tr. *J.A.L.*, VI (1975), 130-139.
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3288 The Vaso Vescovali in the British Museum. A Study in Islamic Astrological Iconography. Willy Hartner. *K.O.*, IX, 1-2 (1975), 99-130.
3289 A Verse Translation of *Lāmīyah* of Shanfarā. Warren T. Treadgold. *J.A.L.*, VI (1975), 30-34.
3290 Zur der Neuauflage von K. A. C. Creswell's "Early Muslim Architecture." Barbara Finster. *K.O.*, IX, 1-2 (1975), 89-98.

VIII. *History of Muslim peoples, generally and in various areas (including studies on pre-Islamic period). Islam in modern history.*

See also nos. 3240, 3261, 3264, 3265, 3267, 3269, 3272, 3274.

3291 Abū'l-Faḍl's Assessment of Akbar's Religious Policy. Mushirul Hasan. *S.I.*, X, 1-2 (1973), 101-121.
3292 The Career of Muhammad Ibn Ṭughj al-Ikshīd, A Tenth Century Governor of Egypt. Jere L. Bacharach. *Spec.*, L (1975), 586-612.
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3294 Islam in Nigeria : Changes since Independence, I. A. R. I. Doi. *I.M.A.*, VI, 3 (1975), 30-56.
3295 Islam in Southeast Asia : Reflections and New Directions. Anthony H. Johns. *Ind.*, No. 19, April, 1975, pp. 33-55.
3296 The Libyan Arab Republic between Tradition and Modernity. Wolfgang Ule. *Orient*, XVI, 3 (Sept., 1975), 18-26.
3297 Lignes de force de la pénétration islamique en Côte-d'Ivoire. Jean-Louis Triaud. *R.E.I.*, XLII (1974), 123-160.

3298 Muslims in the Deccan in the Middle Ages : An Historical Survey. Iftikhar Ahmad Ghauri. *I.C.*, XLIX (1975), 151-164.
3299 Nigeria's Colonial Government and the Islamic Insurgency in French West Africa, 1914-1918. *C.E.A.*, XV (1975), 85-93.
3300 The Origins and Development of the Amīrate of the Arabs during the Seventh/Thirteenth and Eighth/Fourteenth Centuries. M. A. Hiyari. *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXXVIII (1975), 509-524.
3301 The Place of Argungu in Gwandu History. S. A. Balogun. *J.H.S.N.*, VII (1974), 403-415.
3302 The Politics of the Arab Rebellion in Palestine 1936-39. Tom Bowden. *M.E.S.*, XI (1975), 147-174.
3303 Turkestan : Russian Mennonite Promised Land. Fred R. Belk. *S.I.*, X, 1-2 (1973), 58-79.

IX. *Islam and other religions, civilizations, philosophies and ideologies.*
See also no. 3312.

3304 Early Muslim Accounts of Buddhism in India. Jane I. Smith. *S.I.*, X, 1-2 (1973), 87-100.
3305 Europe under Muslim Rule. Mohsin Farooqi. *V.I.*, XXIII (1975), 141-154.

X. *Christianity and Islam (from a Christian point of view). The Church in Muslim environments.*

3306 Eine armenische Chronik von Kaffa aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts. E. Schütz. *A.O.*, XXIX (1975), 133-186.
3307 Chrétiens en Iran. 3e partie : Les communautés Assyro-Chaldéennes de la diaspora. H. de Mauroy. *P.O.C.*, XXV (1975), 174-191.
3308 L'Église melchite en Iraq, en Perse et dans l'Asie Centrale, I. J. Nasrallah, *P.O.C.*, XXV (1975), 135-173.
3309 Islamic Influence in Christian Mysticism. Bernel Manuel Weischer. *Mushir*, XVII (1975), 79-90.
3310 Muslims and Christians in Society : Memorandum, Hong Kong Consultation, January, 1975. World Council of Churches. *Mushir*, XVII (1975), 70-78.
3311 Protestants in Conflict : Policy and Early Practice in the British Punjab. Stanley E. Brush. *Mushir*, XVII (1975), 91-100.
3312 South East Asian Muslims and Christians in Consultation. Byron L. Haines. *Mushir*, XVII (1975), 61-69.
3313 Zur gegenwärtigen Situation der orthodoxen Kirchen im Orient. Friedrich-Wilhelm Fernau. *Orient*, XVI, 3 (Sept., 1975), 27-67.

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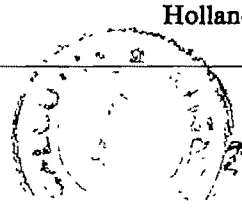
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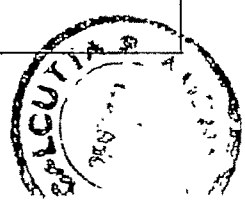
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The Editors appreciate readers' comments. They would value any help in increasing the circulation in order to fulfill the quarterly's objectives—to work towards a genuine knowledge of Islam and greater mutual understanding in Christian-Muslim relationships.

Except where otherwise stated, the writers of articles and reviews are alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

Published quarterly in January, April, July and October

IN THIS ISSUE

All three articles appearing in this issue deal in some way with religion in the Middle East; but even so, they represent a significant variety of topics and approaches.

Dr. Mahmoud M. Ayoub (San Diego State University, San Diego, California) believes "that Muslims and Christians can, and must, learn much from the man Jesus of Islam and from Christ the Lord of Christianity." He sees the present article (examining the image of Jesus in early Shī'ī literature) as the beginning of a series of studies presenting a view of Christ in Islam that may be considered "a legitimate Christology, albeit a Christology that is outside the Christian tradition."

Dr. Joseph G. Jabbra (Department of Political Science, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia) investigates the role of sectarian affiliations in shaping the confessional orientations in Christian and Muslim students in Lebanon. The article, written in 1974, is based on a survey Dr. Jabbra conducted in Lebanon in 1969 and on a number of interviews with Lebanese students and leaders in the summer of 1972.

Mr. Ephraim A. Frankel (University of Wisconsin, Madison) also deals with Lebanon in his historical study of the role of the Maronite Patriarch in the 1958 crisis. Part I, in this issue, covers the period leading up to this crisis; Part II, to appear in October, will discuss the crisis itself and its aftermath.

THE MUSLIM WORLD

VOL. LXVI JULY, 1976 No. 3



TOWARDS AN ISLAMIC CHRISTOLOGY: AN IMAGE OF JESUS IN EARLY SHĪ'Ī MUSLIM LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

It is hoped that this essay will be the first of a series of studies presenting the rich and varied images of Christ in Islamic piety. Such an undertaking would, we trust, present a definite view of Christ in Islam that may be considered as yet another, and legitimate, Christology, albeit a Christology that is outside the Christian tradition.

By Christology is meant not a theological formulation analogous to the Christologies of the early Church, but, rather, an understanding of the role of Christ within the divine plan of human history, of Christ the man, one of the servants of God, but also of Christ, the Word of God, His spirit and exalted friend. These ideas are clearly stated in the Qur'ān and thus provide the basic framework of the image of the Christ of Muslim piety. We wish to argue, however, that the Qur'ān alone is not a sufficient source for the understanding of Christ in Islam. Hence, it may be more profitable to study the Christ of Islamic piety with the Qur'anic background in mind, but without taking the Qur'anic view as the one and only static view of Christ. Indeed, the Christ of Muslim piety has continued to be a living personality, humble and pious, forever thundering against the wrongs of society, and full of wisdom and the Holy Spirit.

We shall, in the following pages, first present our own method of approach and indicate the kind of results we hope it will yield. Then we shall discuss briefly the unique case of Shī'ī Islam which presents its own interesting kind of Christology. Finally, a brief discussion of the sources will introduce the two texts translated below which constitute the central concern of this study.

Scope, Method and Sources

"What think ye of Christ?" [1] This question which the Christian Church has addressed to itself more than once, and even to the world, has been put to Muslims in a great variety of formulations throughout Islamic history. To the Church it has remained a challenge to the faith and basic social and ethical values operating in the lives of its members. To Muslims, on the other hand, this question has been presented with its Christian answer as the truth against which Islam altogether has been judged and found wanting. That Muslims have thought much about Christ and that the Qur'ān presents at least the basis of an Islamic Christology is a fact which has not so far concerned Christians in any profound way.

There is, to be sure, a positive change of attitude among Christians towards other religious traditions, including Islam. This is due, first, to an increased knowledge of the fundamental principles of other religious traditions and the cultures and lives of the men and women living by these principles. Second, the new theological understanding of Christ and of the Christian message has made its impact on Christian society at large. More significant, however, in our view, has been the change in the socio-economic and political structure of the world from colonized peoples and colonizing powers to that of free and independent states and nations. The fruits of these changes may already be discerned in the laudable efforts of such organizations as the World Council of Churches to promote a greater tolerance, if not understanding and appreciation, of the faith and spiritual heritage of other men. This has been achieved through direct dialogue and other means of communication.[2] Moreover, there is a clearly discernible change in the approach of many Western scholars, notably of the younger generation, to the study of Islam. It is a change from

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[1] This question was adopted as the theme of the ecumenical sessions by the World Council of Churches in a variety of formulations and answers in most of its conferences. See, for example, the themes of the 1954 and 1961 conferences. Cf. Matt. 22:42. (All biblical references in this essay will be made to the *Oxford Annotated Bible*, Revised Standard Version. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962.)

[2] Most fruitful have been the occasional consultations sponsored by the World Council of Churches where groups from many different cultures and religious traditions took part in the dialogue on the meaning of faith to the peoples of different religious traditions. Such a dialogue on Muslim-Christian dialogue, in which the author participated, was held in Lebanon in 1972. The results have been published in a booklet entitled *Christian-Muslim Dialogue*, edited by S. J. Samartha and J. B. Taylor (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1973).

the polemical approach which, by 'explaining' Islam on Christian terms, remained devoid of any real understanding, to an approach that instead seeks to understand and to appreciate Islam on its own terms. There has not been, however, to our knowledge, a study of the image of Jesus in Islamic sacred or pietistic literature consciously based on this approach.[3]

This final stage in the long history of Muslim-Christian relations is still in its beginnings. When it is fully realized, it will, we hope, lead to true ecumenism, an ecumenism that will accommodate Islam not as a heresy of true Christianity, but as an authentic expression of the divine and immutable truth. In this spirit of mutual recognition and appreciation, Islam may have something to teach Christians that would strengthen their own faith in the Truth, the Truth which is greater than the expression of any one religious tradition or the understanding of any single individual or community. In order to realize this ideal, Muslims must likewise rethink their own understanding of the true meaning of Islam as the living up to the primordial covenant between God and all human beings and the divine reaffirmation of this covenant in a variety of expressions to a religiously pluralistic world.

Earlier research on the subject of Jesus in Islam has been comparative and usually judgmental, the yardstick being the New Testament record of the life, teaching, and significance of Jesus, the Christ. Useful as this research may have been for the wealth of information it had uncovered on Christian-Muslim relations, it had often harbored old prejudices and fostered new hostilities. At any rate, all the work that can be done on that aspect of Christian-Muslim interaction has been exhausted. It is time for scholars, both Christian and Muslim, to go beyond this cataloging of points of difference and similarity, and drawing of old conclusions.

What we propose as a new approach is to start with the given data and work on them as they are. No matter how different the Qur'anic and later Islamic view of Jesus may be, it is nonetheless the view which Muslims have to struggle with and understand and

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[3] Much has been written, of course, on Jesus in Islam by Western scholars, but for the most part the purpose has been either to compare the Jesus of Islam with the Christ of Christianity or to demonstrate the false understanding of Jesus by Muslims. A notable exception to this approach is Kenneth Cragg who, while remaining a Christian committed to the task of explaining the Gospel to Muslims, nonetheless is ready to wrestle with Islamic concepts and thus shows a unique appreciation of the faith of Muslims. Other exceptions can also be cited.

which Christians must take as a Muslim view and accept as such, at least as the methodological basis for their research and study. It is no longer profitable to take Qur'anic statements about Jesus simply as distortions of, or borrowings from, the Gospels. Rather, they should be accepted as authentically Islamic statements and as expressing an Islamic view.

One such statement which has occupied the attention of Western scholars is the Qur'anic verse asserting the servanthood of Jesus to God. It reads as follows: "The Messiah will never scorn to be a slave unto Allah, nor will the favoured angels. Whoso scorneth His service and is proud, all such will He assemble unto Him."[4] In itself, this short statement is precise and unequivocal. It seeks to balance the status of Jesus as the word of God and His spirit,[5] and one who is highly honored (*wajīh*) in this world and the next [6] with his humanity thus declaring him to be, in spite of this high status, a servant (*'abd*) of God without considering this in any way to be a denigration of his lofty rank. Had scholars [7] not taken this to be a distortion of the Pauline hymn addressed to the Philippians [8] and gone to great length first to prove this hypothesis, and then to reject the verse altogether, they would have seen the profound significance of this Qur'anic verse for Muslims, in its proper context.[9] In fact, the parallel of the Qur'anic text with the famous hymn just mentioned is at best superficial and farfetched. This view of Christ, with all its implications for the Qur'ān and later Islamic piety, has been the basis for the total image of Christ in Islamic literature throughout the centuries. It is the view that characterizes the first of the two traditions presented in this study.

Jesus in Islam, as in the Gospels, is the messenger of forgiveness and love. Thus, the injunction of turning the other cheek, which

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[4] S. 4:172. (All Qur'anic references in this essay are taken from *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, translated by Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall. New York: New American Library, n.d.). For the Christian view, see *Jesus in the Qur'an* by Geoffrey Parrinder (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), p. 34. Kenneth Cragg holds a similar, albeit more complex, view, as the author has discussed it with him on many occasions, both here and abroad.

[5] S. 4:171.

[6] S. 3:45.

[7] See footnote 4 above.

[8] Phil. 2:7.

[9] Islam, like Christianity, lays a great emphasis on divine guidance as the basis of its faith and history. Any reference to Jesus in the Qur'ān must be viewed in the light of this fundamental concept.

Christ preached in the Gospel, is, in the first tradition we shall discuss below, put in the form of a command to Christ by God. Similarly, the poverty, austerity and detachment from this world of the Christ of the Gospels receives, in Islamic piety, a far greater emphasis. Hence, Jesus becomes the example of piety, renunciation of worldly pleasures, and poverty for the Sufis, the one after whom they sought to pattern their lives and conduct.

The reason nothing has been said in this essay about the central role of Christ as the Savior is that Islam has no concept of sin and redemption analogous to the fundamental Christian view of fallen humanity and its need of redemption. Yet Christ, as were all the messengers of God before and after him, was a savior in that he, by his message, helped to save humanity from error and to guide its steps further on the path to God, to whom we all belong, and to whom we shall all return.[10]

Moreover, Shī'ī Islam, from the devotional literature of which the selections below are taken, has developed its own quasi-soteriological Christology in the doctrine and role of the Imams, the spiritual heads of the community.[11] It is noteworthy that 'Alī, the first Imam of Shī'ī Muslims, is often compared to Jesus.[12] In a highly interesting statement attributed to 'Alī, he had the following to say about himself and his descendants, the remaining eleven Imams. Beginning by declaring that God is One and unique in His unity, he goes on: "He uttered a Word which became a light. From that light He... created me and my progeny. Then God uttered another Word which became a spirit, and that spirit He made to dwell in the light. The light, moreover, He made to dwell in our bodies. Thus, we are the Spirit of God and His Words...." [13]

The Imams, for the Shī'ī community, are the true mediators between God and man. They were with God from the beginning as His first act of creation. With them, the primordial history of all creation

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[10] S. 2:156.

[11] See the author's unpublished thesis, "Redemptive Suffering in Islam: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of 'Āshūrā in the Middle Ages," Harvard University, 1975, ch. 2 and 6.

[12] Muḥammad Bāqir, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, tome XIII of the old, traditional edition, LIII of the modern edition (Tehran: al-Maktaba al-Islāmiyya, 1384 AH), 46-47, where many texts are given in support of this idea. See also *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq al-Kulaynī al-Rāzī (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1381 AH), I ("Kitāb al-Ḥujja"), 194-196 and 293-294, where the function of 'Alī to Jesus is described in a similar way.

[13] Bāqir, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, LIII, 46.

began, and through them it will be finally judged and consummated. They are a source of salvation on the Day of Reckoning for those who accept their status as the friends (*awliyā'*) [14] of God, and true heirs of the prophets. Conversely, the Imams will be the stern judges of those who have rejected their lofty status. The twelfth and last of the Imams will return at the end of time as the awaited Messiah (*Mahdī*) to establish divine rule over the earth.[15] Jesus, Son of Mary, will also descend from heaven to aid him in this task, thus playing some part in the Imam's final act of redemption and judgment.[16]

Shī'ī Islam sees human history, and the divine role in it, as having two related, yet distinct, cycles. Outwardly, humanity is guided by the large number of prophets sent by God for this purpose. Five of these occupy a special place in the prophetic history, and are known as the "Prophets of Power" (*ulū 'l-'azm*).[17] Jesus, the Christ, Son of Mary, is one of them. Inwardly, to every prophet God appointed twelve vicegerents, or executors (*awṣiyā'*), who are interested in his esoteric knowledge. The mission of all the vicegerents of the prophets before Muḥammad was a preparatory one for that of his vicegerents, the Imams, who are regarded as the seal of *walāya*, as Muḥammad is the seal of prophethood. The *walī* is another term for the vicegerent (*waṣī*) and the cycle of walāya is, in a sense, the esoteric, or inward, side of the cycle of prophethood. The work of salvation belongs to this inward cycle, and is thus reserved for the Imams who, in this and many other respects, collectively play a role similar to that of Christ.

Jesus, however, does occupy a unique place in Shī'ī piety. Besides being the recipient of the Gospel and other direct divine communication, he is the wise ascetic endowed with esoteric gnosis. He, therefore, belongs both to esoteric and exoteric cycles of history. A third important aspect of Christ's prophetic personality is that of the humble slave of God whose life hangs, so to speak, between fear and hope. He is threatened and counseled, and reprimanded and exalted by God. This, according to Islamic piety, is one of the ways God deals with His friends (awliyā') who, though near to God, are,

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[14] The Arabic word *walī*, plural *awliyā'*, means "friend," "confidant" and "master." It also signifies theologically one who has authority. All these meanings are implied when the term is applied to the Imams.

[15] See ch. 6 of the thesis referred to in n. 11, pp. 442 ff.

[16] *Ibid.*, for a detailed discussion of the subject.

[17] See al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, I, 224-225. The prophets here mentioned are Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad.

nonetheless, His creatures and humble servants.[18] All three aspects (prophet, ascetic sage, and mystic) of the personality of the Christ of piety are present in the two texts translated below. Jesus, the mystic, friend, and servant of God of our first text, is also the recipient of special divine communication, which is delivered, or in some cases echoed, in the second text. In the second text, Jesus is essentially the teacher, whose sayings are an interesting mixture of the Synoptic Gospels and those attributed to him by Islamic piety. Both texts were, and still are, used as homiletic materials by popular preachers in services commemorating the sufferings of the Imams. Thus, they are supposed to convey a message of suffering, wisdom, piety, and divine mercy.

Our first selection is reported by al-Kulaynī, the famous Shī'ī Ḥadīth traditionist, on the authority of the Imams, without specifying the exact authority. It is included in the eighth and last volume of his Ḥadīth collection entitled *al-Kāfī* (The Sufficient in Ḥadīth). The last volume is subtitled *al-Rawḍa min al-Kāfī* (The Garden of al-Kāfī). This volume consists of a large number of miscellaneous traditions dealing with a variety of subjects. The author died in 328 or 329/939, thus making his work one of the earliest large Ḥadīth collections in Islam.

The tradition with which we are concerned in this section is simply entitled, "That With Which God Has Instructed or Counseled 'Īsā." It belongs to the genre of Ḥadīth collections known as *Ḥadīth Qudsī*, or Divine Utterance.[19] Throughout this colloquy God is the speaker, and Jesus asks one brief question towards the end. The same text is reported in a shorter version under the title "Munajat 'Īsā," or "The Colloquy [of God] With Jesus," by Ibn Shu'ba al-Ḥarrānī, the traditionist, who died towards the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth Islamic century. His work is entitled "Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl 'an Āl al-Rasūl," "The Delight of Minds in the Words of the Descendants of the Apostle [Muḥammad]." It contains sermons and sayings of the Imams chronologically arranged. Both traditions, offered below in translation, are placed at the end of the book, without any explanation or mention of the authority on which they were reported. The second tradition, containing sermons and sayings of Jesus, is

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[18] See, for a vivid example, the colloquy between God and the ancient prophet Ilyās (Elijah), reported on the authority of the sixth Imam in al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, I, 227-228.

[19] For an excellent discussion of this genre of Ḥadīth, see William A. Graham's thesis, "Divine Word and Prophetic Word," Harvard University, 1973.

not reported in Kulaynī's work; thus, our translation will be based only on the text of Ibn Shu'ba. As far as the first tradition is concerned, our translation will be based on the same text, which is clearer and more concise than that of al-Kulaynī. Where the latter version adds something substantial to the version we have chosen, the relevant passages will be preceded by the letter "K" in parentheses, indicating the title of the book *al-Kāfī*, and inserted into the text where they most suitably fit.

We have endeavored to keep as close as possible to the language and idiom of the text. This has meant some unavoidable repetition of both phrases and ideas. In a number of cases, certain redundant phrases or short sentences have been omitted. We trust, however, that the texts will fulfill the main purpose of this essay: to present an image of Jesus in early Shī'ī Muslim literature. In general, this image is typical of the traditional Islamic view of Jesus, which is largely based on the Qur'anic presentation of the life, personality, and mission of Jesus, the Christ, Son of Mary. It will be seen, however, that the author or authors of the traditions here presented must have had some knowledge of the Gospel sayings and possibly even of other popular Christian sources.

Texts in Translation

A. "A Colloquy of God, Exalted Be He, with Jesus, Son of Mary, May God's Prayers Be upon Them Both." [20]

The following selection presents Jesus as the humble and penitent servant of God, listening to God's wise council and harsh reproach. He is also the exalted messenger commissioned by God to transmit His revelation to mankind, but especially to be a teacher to the Children of Israel. Although the Qur'anic condemnation of the divinity of Jesus and the doctrine of Trinity is not mentioned, the text insists on God's unity, absolute power and justice. Jesus is warned and threatened with hell-fire if he associates other things with God. Thus, by implication, the text is meant to counter the Christian claims of the divinity of Jesus and the doctrine of Trinity.

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[20] From *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl 'an Āl al-Rasūl* by Abū Muhammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Shu'ba al-Ḥarrānī, a famous traditionist of the fourth century AH, edited and introduced by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm (Najaf: Ḥaydariyya Press, 1383/1963), pp. 373-378.

O Jesus, I am your Lord and the Lord of your fathers. My name is One (*wāḥid*) and I am the unique One (*aḥad*). Alone have I created everything. I made all things and all things shall return to me.

O Jesus, you are the Christ by my command (*amr*) [21] and you create out of clay by my leave,[22] and you revive the dead by your words.[23] Be, therefore, desirous of me and fear me, for you shall find no refuge from me except in me.

O Jesus, I counsel you as one who is compassionate and merciful towards you. You have truly obtained the favor of nearness (*walāya*) [24] from me for your earnest seeking of my pleasure. Blessed, therefore, are you, as a child and a grown-up man, wherever you may be.[25] I bear witness that you are my servant ('abd), the son of my handmaid. Draw nigh unto me through supererogatory prayers (*nawāfil*) [26] and put your trust in me, for I suffice you. Take no one else as your master lest I abandon you.

O Jesus, be patient with affliction and accept that which is decreed. Seek my pleasure through obedience for I wish to be obeyed, and never disobeyed.

O Jesus, make constant mention of me with your tongue and keep my love in your heart. Be vigilant during the hours of sleep and be mindful of my gracious wisdom. Be diligent and fearful and mortify your heart with awe of me. Be watchful in the nights, striving after my pleasure, and mortify your body with thirst in the days for the day of your need [the Day of Judgment].

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[21] The divine creative command by which God says to a thing "Be" and it is. See S. 3:47.

[22] S. 5:110. Cf. the Infancy Gospel of Thomas 2:2, in *New Testament Apocrypha*, translated by Edgar Hennecke (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), I, 393.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Meaning "friendship" or "authority." See n. 14.

[25] Cf. S. 19:33; 3:45-46.

[26] Nawāfil are the extra-canonical prayers usually offered at night. They are regarded especially meritorious by the Sufis. See the famous Ḥadīth Qūdsi known as Ḥadīth al-Nawāfil, in Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, edited by Ludolf Krehl and T. Juynboll (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1862-1908), **81**, 38, 2.

O Jesus, you shall be accountable to me, be merciful, therefore, towards the weak as I am merciful towards you, and do not oppress the orphan.[27] Weep for yourself in private and rise up on your feet at the appointed times of prayer.[28] Let me hear the penitent cries of your soul; for good are all my dealings with you.

(K) O Jesus, judge among my servants according to my counsels and deal with them in accordance with my justice. For to you have I sent down that in which there is healing from the disease of Satan.[29]

O Jesus, many a nation have I caused to perish in punishment for sins from which I have protected you. Show compassion towards the weak and turn your weary gaze to heaven and call upon me, for I am near.[30] Remember me with a contrite heart and make me your sole concern; for as you make supplication to me, thus will I answer you.

O Jesus, do not be deceived by the sight of a stiff-necked and disobedient man who eats my sustenance and worships another. Yet, when in times of hardship, he calls upon me, I answer him. But then he returns to his old ways in times of ease. Is it against me that he sets himself? Or can he withstand my wrath? By myself have I sworn that I will seize him with my wrath from which he shall find neither salvation nor refuge. Where can he flee from my heaven and my earth?

O Jesus, say to the wrongdoers of the Children of Israel, "Do not call upon me while you trample the poor under your feet [that is, through usury] and keep idols in your homes. I shall surely answer them who call upon me, but I shall make my answer a curse upon them until they shall be scattered in the earth."

O Jesus, there is no good in a pleasure that does not last, or an ephemeral life that shall come to an end. O Son of Mary,

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[27] S. 93:9.

[28] That is, the five prayers, and especially the dawn prayer.

[29] Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, VIII, edited by Akbar al-Ghaffārī (Tehran: al-Maktaba al-Islāmiyya, Haydari Press, n.d.), 131-132, ḥadīth no. 103.

[30] S. 2:186. Also 50:16.

if your eye were to see what I have prepared for my faithful friends, your heart would melt and your soul expire in longing for it. For there is no abode like the abode of the hereafter. In it dwell the pure ones of my servants, visited by angels nearest the throne. They shall be safe from the fearful portents on the Day of Resurrection. It is an abode whose bliss shall never cease. O Son of Mary, strive for it with those that strive, for it is the wish of all that desire the good, beautiful to behold. Blessed are you, O Son of Mary, if you were to be counted among those that strive for it, to be with your fathers, Adam and Abraham, in gardens of bliss everlasting, wishing for nothing else instead. Thus will I favor those that fear me.

O Jesus, flee to me with those that run away from a fire of great flames, a fire of chains and torment into which neither air enters nor out of which black smoke escapes.[31] It is as though made of layers of darkness, layers that resemble the black night. Happy is he that shall be spared its torments. It is the abode of the proud, stiff-necked and wrong-doers and every haughty and arrogant man. Miserable is that abode, and miserable are those that shall dwell therein. I therefore warn you for your good, so be mindful of me.

O Jesus, wherever you may be, fix your gaze upon me. Bear witness from me that I created you, and that you are my servant. I formed you and sent you down to earth. Restrain your soul from deadly lusts and abandon any desire that may separate you from me. Know that you are before me of high station, the station of a faithful messenger... for I created you by my word,[32] and Mary gave birth to you by my command. To her did I send my Faithful Spirit, Gabriel, one of my angels. Thus were you able to rise up and walk on the earth. All this we determined in my foreknowledge.

O Jesus, consider Zechariah as a father to you, for he was the guardian of your mother. Whenever he entered her prayer-chamber

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[31] This highly metaphorical description of hell is a favorite of early Shī'ī writers, occurring in many sources. Hell is a closed well of darkness and smoke, and the passage describing that is too eloquent to be rendered into clear English.

[32] S. 3:59.

he found sustenance with her.[33] John the Baptist (Yaḥyā) is like you; I granted him to his mother in her old age, when she had no strength left in her.[34] I wished to manifest my sovereign power to her, as I showed my power to you.

O Jesus, if I am wroth with you, the pleasure of no one else will avail you anything. And if I am pleased with you, no wrath will do you harm. Remember me in your heart and mention me in public that I may remember you in an assembly better than all human assemblies. Call upon me with the invocation of a man about to drown who has no one to help him. Do not swear by me falsely, lest my throne shake with wrath.

(K) O Jesus, let your speech be one in private and in public. Restrain your heart and tongue from unlawful things and your eye from evil sights. Often would a glance sow in a man's heart lust, and thus lead him into perdition.[35]

O Jesus, how would it be if I were to bring forth for you [and the Children of Israel] a Book speaking the Truth and you would witness to the truth thereof, but keep what you know as a secret and seek to hide your own actions? [36]

O Jesus, say to the wrongdoers of the Children of Israel, "You have washed your faces, but kept your hearts unclean. So lightly do you take my injunctions and dare to stand against me. You anoint yourselves for the people of this world outwardly, but inwardly you are like filthy corpses and dead men in my sight." [37] Tell them, O Jesus, "Clip your fingernails from unlawful gain, and deafen your ears to words of vanity. Turn to me with your hearts for I desire not your outward appearances."

O Jesus, rejoice with a good deed, for it is pleasing to me, and

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[33] S. 3:37.

[34] S. 19:8-9.

[35] Cf. Matt. 18:9.

[36] This refers to the Qur'ān, which was sent, according to Muslims, not to deny but to confirm previous revelations, among which is the Injīl, revealed to Jesus. Men shall be judged by the revelations sent to them by God. Hence, the next sentence, in a way, continues the same theme, although under a different subject.

[37] Cf. Matt. 23:27, and possibly Luke 11:44.

> weep for a bad deed, for it is evil. That which you do not wish others to do to you, do not do to others; and if someone strikes your right cheek, turn your left cheek to him.[38] Strive to draw nigh unto me through love, and give no heed to the foolish. Be humble among men of good deeds and associate yourself with them and be a witness over them....
>
> O Jesus, say to the wrongdoers of the Children of Israel, "Wisdom weeps in awe of me, but you laugh and engage in vanities. Do you think that you have received my acquittal, or have you any security against my torments, or do you dare to withstand my punishment? By myself have I sworn. I shall make you an example to those that shall come after you."

At this point the subject changes, and God tells Jesus of the coming of Muḥammad and describes him and his community in exalted words of praise. God, moreover, commands Jesus to announce this great Arabian apostle to the Children of Israel and enjoin them to believe in his message, and follow him. The entire passage echoes the Qur'anic verse in which Jesus is said to announce the coming of Muḥammad in the words, "I am the messenger of Allah unto you... bringing good tidings of a messenger who cometh after me, whose name is the Praised One (*Aḥmad*)." [39] The colloquy then continues :

> O Jesus, all that draws you near to me have I declared to you, and all that separates you from me have I warned you against. This world is sweet, and I have placed you in it as my vicegerent. Avoid that in it against which I have cautioned you and take from it that which I have allowed you. Look upon your own deeds as would a transgressing servant ('abd), and do not judge the deeds of others. Renounce this world and desire it not, lest you be harmed.
>
> O Jesus, be wise and prudent and look around you in the earth, and see how was the end of the wrongdoers.[40]

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[38] Cf. Matt. 5:39 and Luke 6:29. The same command is repeated in the next section by Jesus to his hearers. So, in a way, Jesus is commanded to do what he later preaches. Perhaps this is significant, showing the essential equality of Jesus with other men.

[39] S. 61:6.

[40] S. 10:39 (vs. 40 in Pickthall) and 16:36.

O Jesus, all my counsels to you are truthful and I am the Truth manifest and clear. For, verily I say to you, if you would disobey me after I have informed you, you shall find neither friend nor supporter against me. Discipline your heart with fear of me, and look not up to him who is above you but to him who is below you. Know that the beginning of every sin and transgression is love of this world, so do not love it, for I love it not.

O Jesus, purify your heart before me, and make much mention of me in secluded places. Know that my pleasure is that you lift your eyes towards me. In this be vigilant and alive, not dead.

O Jesus, do not associate anything with me and beware my wrath. Do not be deceived by health or rejoice in this world for it is like a passing shadow.... (K) that which remains of it is no better than that which has passed away. Be diligent, therefore, in the performance of good deeds. Be with the truth wherever it may be, even if you were to be cut to pieces and cast into the fires. Do not deny, or disbelieve in me, after you have known; do not be counted among the foolish.[41]

O Jesus, pour out for me the tears of your eyes and humble your heart before me. Turn to me in times of hardship, for I alone succor those that are in deep sorrows and hearken to those who are in difficult straits; for I am the most merciful.

B. "Sayings of Jesus, Peace Be upon Him, from the Gospel and Other Sources." [42]

This text consists of a great variety of sayings and little sermonettes attributed to Jesus. A large number of them are either taken directly from the Gospels, or written with the Gospels as the model. In this text, Jesus is clearly the stern teacher, counseling and condemning, and preaching the message of love so familiar to the Gospel readers. The Sermon on the Mount appears to be the primary model for all the sayings. The woes of the Gospels pronounced upon the Pharisees and Scribes are here multiplied many times over. To

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[41] Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, VIII, 141. See n. 12 for full reference.

[42] Al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, pp. 378-389.

document every saying or group of sayings with Gospel references would make for tedious reading; only where an obvious need for it exists has a footnote been added.

Of his sayings :

> Blessed are the merciful, for they shall find mercy on the Day of Resurrection. Blessed are they who make peace among people, for they shall be brought near to God on the Day of Resurrection. Blessed are the pure of heart, for they shall visit God on the Day of Resurrection. Blessed are the humble in this world, for they shall inherit the thrones of dominion on the Day of Resurrection. Blessed are the poor, for theirs shall be the Kingdom of Heaven. Blessed are the sorrowful, for they shall rejoice. Blessed are those who hunger and thirst in meekness, for their thirst shall be quenched. Blessed are they that do good, for they shall be called the pure elect of God.[43] Blessed are those who are robbed of all their possessions for the sake of purity, for theirs shall be the Kingdom of Heaven. Blessed are you if you are envied and maligned, and is said of you every unsavory and false word. Rejoice, and be of good cheer, for your reward shall be increased in heaven.[44]

He said further :

> O you slaves of evil, you blame other men for their doubt, but do not reproach yourselves for certainty.[45] You slaves of this world, you wish to be said of you that which is not true of you, and you wish to be pointed at with fingers. You slaves of this world, you shave your heads and bow them down, and you shorten your garments, yet you do not remove malice from your hearts. You slaves of this world, you are like well-constructed graves, pleasant to behold from the outside, but inside are full of dead bones and transgressions. You slaves of this world, you are like a lamp that gives light to men, but burns itself.[46]

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[43] The deviation from the Sermon on the Mount in the preceding sayings can be easily explained as an Islamic way of saying more or less the same thing. Cf. Matt. 5:3-10.

[44] Matt., 5:11-12. It is interesting to note the substitution of the word "purity" (*ṭahāra*), which implies physical ritualistic purity, for the word "righteousness."

[45] It shall be clear from the following that mere certainty without action is useless, hence the seemingly vague condemnation.

[46] Compare for differences and similarities with this and the Gospel sayings, Matt. 5:15 and 23:27.

> O children of Israel, run to the assemblies of the learned, even if crawling on your knees. For God revives the dead hearts with the light of wisdom as He revives the dead earth with heavy rain. O children of Israel, little speech is sound judgment, observe, therefore, silence. Silence indeed, is a good quality, for it leads not to grave sins.... Guard well the gate of knowledge, for its true gate is patience. God despises him who laughs without reason, and him who walks, but not to a place of good council. God loves the ruler who is like a good shepherd who does not neglect his flocks.[47] Be ashamed before God in secret as you would be ashamed before men in public. Know that a word of wisdom is the desire of a man of faith. Seek it, before it disappears with the death of its transmitters.
>
> O man of knowledge, revere the learned for their learning and oppose them not. Do not revere the foolish because of their foolishness, but do not drive them away; be kind to them and teach them. O man of knowledge, know that every bounty for which you are not thankful is like a sin for which you shall be held accountable. O man of knowledge, know that any disobedience for which you do not repent is like a punishment for which you shall suffer....

Again he said, peace be upon him, to his companions :

> Think you if one of you, while passing by, sees the garment of his brother fallen, exposing the nakedness of his body, should he cover his brother's nakedness, or rather, expose it even more? They said No, that he should rather cover it. Jesus answered, Not so, rather he should expose it more. Then they understood that it was a parable he made for them. They therefore asked, How can that be, O Spirit of God? He answered, Even so, you look at your brother's nakedness, but do not try to help him cover it up.[48]
>
> Verily I say to you, I teach you so that you may know, I do not teach you in order that you may admire yourselves. You shall not obtain that which you want except if you renounce

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[47] Perhaps this is an allusion to John 10:1-18.

[48] The model for the saying is perhaps Matt. 7 in many places, but the saying itself is rather strange.

that which you desire. Nor will you achieve that for which you hope, except if you are patient with afflictions. Beware vain looks, for they sow lust in the heart.... Blessed is he who has his sight in his heart and not his heart in the sight of his eyes. Look not on the faults of others as though you were lords, rather, look at their faults as though you were the servants of men. In truth, men are of two kinds, one afflicted, and the other sound. Be merciful towards him who is afflicted, and thank God for sound health.

O children of Israel, do you feel ashamed before God? You clear your drink of all impurities, but would devour unlawful things, like elephants. Have you not heard what you were commanded in the Torah, "Do good to your kin, and reward them well?" But I say unto you, give to him who withholds from you and be generous towards him who refuses your wishes, and be good to him who treats you badly. Say "Peace" to him who reviles you. Show justice to him who shows enmity towards you. Forgive him who does you wrong, as you wish your wrongdoing to be forgiven. Be mindful of God's forgiveness towards you. Do you not see that His sun shines over the righteous as well as the reprobates among you? He sends his rain likewise over the pious as well as the sinners among you. If you love only them that love you, or be good only towards them who are good towards you,... what virtue have you over others? This, even the fools who are without virtue or compassion, do. But if you wish to be beloved of God, and be counted among His elect, do good to them that do you wrong. Forgive them who do you harm, and salute with the salutation of peace those who heed you not. Listen to my words and keep my commandments; guard well my covenant so that you may be truly men of knowledge and understanding.

Verily I say to you, your hearts are where your treasures are. For this reason, men love their wealth and their souls yearn for it. Lay your treasures in heaven where neither moth shall eat them, nor thieves reach them. Verily I say to you, no servant can serve two lords; rather, he would certainly prefer one over the other, even though he may try. Likewise, you cannot love both God and this world. Verily I say to you, the most foolish of men is a wise man who prefers the world over his knowledge, ... for what would benefit a blind man the brilliance of the sun's

light when he cannot see it? Likewise, knowledge would avail nothing a man who does not live by it. Many are the fruit of trees, but not all are good to eat, and many are the wise, but not all of them benefit by their wisdom. Large is the earth, but not all the space thereof is habitable, and many are those who speak much, but not all their words are true. Beware the false wisdom of those who don garments of coarse wool, with heads bowed down to the earth, yet they indulge in every sin.[49] They slyly glance from beneath their eyebrows like wolves, and their words do not concur with their deeds.

Can grapes be gathered from thistles, or figs from colocynths? Likewise are the words of a false man of knowledge, they are to be rejected. Verily I say to you, crops grow in leveled fields, and not on the rocky hillside. Similarly, wisdom dwells in the heart of the humble and not in that of the haughty and arrogant man. Know you not that he who lifts up his head so high that it touches the ceiling would split it, but he who keeps his head down would find refuge under the ceiling? Likewise, he who does not humble himself before God, him will God bring low, and he who humbles himself will be exalted.

It is not always possible to keep honey in a skin, nor can in all hearts wisdom dwell.[50] If the skin is not torn, or rotten, it can be used as a vessel for honey. Likewise, hearts, if they are not torn asunder by lust, made unclean with greed, and separated [from God] through pleasure, they can be a dwelling place of wisdom.

Verily I say to you, if a fire were to start in one house, and that house is not destroyed from its foundations, the fire would spread into many houses.[51] Likewise a wrongdoer, if his hands were not restrained, other wrongdoers would have a leader to emulate.... Verily I say to you, if one sees a serpent drawing near to his brother until it bites him and he dies, that man would be as though he had a share in his brother's blood [that is, if

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[49] The 'ulamā' of both Shī'ī and Sunnī Islam have always been very critical of the Sufis. The saying here may be a somewhat indirect condemnation of Sufis.

[50] The substitution of honey for wine is, again, an accommodation of the Islamic prohibition against wine. Cf. Matt. 9:17, Mark 2:22, and Luke 5:38.

[51] The reference here is to houses made of wood, or at least with a wooden roof.

he does not prevent the snake from biting him]. Similarly, he who sees his brother indulging in iniquity and does not warn him of the consequences thereof, ... he would have a share in his brother's iniquity. Thus, he who is able to dissuade a wrongdoer and does it not, is himself committing a wrong.... It is not enough for a man to say "I do no wrong, but let him who wishes to do wrong do so"; thus he sees wrongdoing and opposes it not. If the matter were as you think, would you then be punished among the wrongdoers in whose acts you have no share?...

Woe to you, O slaves of iniquity, how can you hope in God's protection from the fears of the Day of Resurrection, when you fear men rather than God, and obey them, while you disobey Him? You keep their covenants which are in violation of His covenant. Verily I say to you, God would not protect from the fears of that Day those who take men as their lords in His stead.

Woe to you, O slaves of iniquity, for a worthless world and an evil lust you lose the dominion of paradise and forget the fears of the Day of Resurrection.

Woe to you, O slaves of this world, for an ephemeral life and pleasures that will vanish, you run away from God, and despise His presence. How would God wish you to come before Him when you despise His presence?... How can you claim to be of all men the friends (awliyā') of God, when you run away from death and seek protection in this world. Of what use is the fragrance of a dead man's embalming spices to him, or the whiteness of his shroud when all this will decay in the earth. Likewise, the pleasures of this world which you so value will benefit you naught, when they will all disappear....

Woe to you, O slaves of this world, for you carry a lamp in bright sunlight when the light of the sun would suffice you, and claim to walk by the sun's light in the night. Thus do you walk by the light of knowledge, seeking worldly affairs, when God gave it to you for your hereafter. You consent that the hereafter is an inescapable reality; yet you cling to this world. You say death is an inescapable reality, yet you run away from it. You say that God hears and sees, but you fear not His reckoning of your deeds. How could anyone hearing you believe what you say? For it is excusable for a foolish man to lie, but a wise man has no excuse.

Verily, I say to you, if a beast of burden is not ridden, and thus broken in and used to carry loads, it becomes uncontrollable, as its nature would change. Likewise, your hearts, if they are not made tender by the remembrance of death, or be engaged in acts of worship, would become hard as stones. What benefits a dark house if a lamp is placed on its roof, while inside darkness prevails?[52] Likewise, the light of knowledge will avail you nothing when it shines only through your mouths, while your hearts are left in darkness. Hasten to your homes and illuminate them, and to your hearts, and illuminate them with wisdom before they are overcome with sins and made harder than stones.

How can a man, having no help, carry heavy burdens? How can a sinner be relieved of the heavy burdens of sin if he does not beg divine forgiveness? Would a man have clean garments if he does not wash them, or would a man be acquitted from his transgressions without expiating them? Nor would a man escape drowning in the sea if he tried to cross without a boat. Would a man, likewise, escape the temptations of this world without the healing of true endeavor? Would a traveler reach his destination without a guide, or a man attain paradise without due regard to the fundamentals of faith (*dīn*)? Nor would he who does not obey God obtain His pleasure with him....

Verily, I say to you, as the sea would suffer no decrease or harm if a boat sinks therein, likewise, you shall cause God no want or harm by your sins. Rather, it is your own souls you harm. As the sun will suffer no harm or decrease of luminosity because of the multitudes of men basking in the light thereof, so it is with God's bounty, it suffers no decrease because He bestows it on you. Rather, it is by His bounty that you live and have your being. God multiplies His bounties to those who are thankful, for He is the one deserving of all praise and He is all-knowing.

Woe to you, you unfaithful servants! You receive your wages, clothe yourselves, are well-sustained and build houses, yet you perform badly the work of your Master. Soon will the Master of the work investigate the work you do, punish you severely and order your necks cut off at the roots. He will have your

[52] Cf. Matt. 5:15.

hands cut off at the joints and your bodies dragged face-down and left by the wayside.[53] Thus, you shall be an example to those who fear God and a warning to the wrongdoers.

Woe to you, O evil men of knowledge! Do not tell yourselves that your lives shall last forever and that you shall not die. Indeed, you are already in the grip of death. Begin now to understand and weep for yourselves. Lament your sins. Hasten now and be ready. Repent soon and turn to your Lord....

Is it not, you slave of this world, by knowledge that you were given authority over all things; yet you despise knowledge and live not by it. Instead, you cling to this world to rule over it, making it your sole desire. You live in it as though it will never end. How long will you cling to this world while God has no share in you? Verily I say to you, you shall never attain the exalted status of the hereafter unless you abandon the things you love. Do not wait until the morrow for repentance, for between now and the morrow is the night wherein God's decree comes and goes.[54]

Verily, I say to you, small sins are the temptation of the Devil. He makes your sins seem small and insignificant in your eyes until they multiply and overtake you.... Verily I say to you, there is nothing better that would secure a high status in the hereafter and is of more succor in the face of hardships in this world than continuous prayers. Prayers are the best means of bringing you nigh unto the Merciful. Pray therefore, much and always.

Verily, I say to you, a wronged man who finds no supporter in this world by word or deed shall be greatly requited in the Kingdom of Heaven. Who among you has seen light which was named darkness, or darkness which was called light? Likewise, no man can be both a man of faith, and an unbeliever, or one loving this world, and striving for the hereafter. Is it possible

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[53] The author may have had the unfaithful tenant parable in mind, Luke 20:16 and Matt. 21:41, or the unfaithful servant parable, Matt. 25:15.

[54] The meaning here is that perhaps they will not live until the morrow, since God's decrees are unknown to men. This passage may echo the parable of the rich fool, Luke 12:16-21.

that those who sow barley can reap wheat, or those who sow wheat reap barley? Thus shall also every servant in this world reap the fruits of what he had sown here, in the hereafter, and will be rewarded for his deeds.[55]

Verily, I say to you, he who does not weed the grass from his field, it shall multiply and kill his crops. Thus also, he who does not remove the love of this world from his heart, his heart shall be captured by it, and he will never be able to taste the love of the world to come.

Woe to you, O slaves of this world, make the houses of the worship of your Lord prisons for your bodies and your hearts houses of piety, not dwelling places of every lust.... Woe to you, evil men of knowledge, were you not dead, and He [God] revived you, but when you were revived you made yourselves dead again? Were you not foolish and He instructed you, and you soon forgot His instructions? Were you not fools and He gave you understanding, but you chose ignorance? Woe to you! Were you not gone astray and He guided you but you went astray after you were guided?... (He continues with blindness and sight, deafness and hearing, poverty and riches, and humility and exaltation.) Woe to you, therefore, on the Day of Resurrection, for God shall humiliate and upbraid you....

Verily I say to you, Moses commanded you not to swear by God, truthfully or falsely, rather say "Yea" or "Nay." [56]

O, Children of Israel, eat the herbs of the field and barley bread, and avoid eating wheat bread, for you may not be able to be thankful enough for it. Verily, I say to you, every evil word you utter in this life you shall answer for it on the Day of Resurrection.

O, slaves of vanity, if one of you goes to sacrifice an animal [as a burnt offering, *qurbān*] and remembers that his brother is angry with him, let him leave his sacrifice and make peace with

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[55] Cf. Matt. 7:16. This metaphor may have been suggested by Matthew. What is of special significance, however, is that it expresses clearly the Islamic emphasis on works as opposed to faith only.

[56] The author confuses the commandment in Ex. 20:7 with the injunction of Christ not to swear at all, Matt. 5:34.

his brother; then let him return and offer his sacrifice.[57] O, slaves of wickedness, if someone asks one of you for his shirt, let him give his garment as well. If someone strikes the cheek of one of you, let him offer his other cheek also. If one of you is forced to walk one mile for another man, let him walk two miles.

Verily, I say to you, what good is a body if from the outside it appears healthy but inside it is sick...? Of what benefit is it to you to wash clean your skins but leave your hearts full of impurities?

Verily, I say to you, be not like a sieve that throws out the good flour and retains the chaff. Likewise, you bring out words of wisdom from your mouths, but retain hatred in your hearts. Verily, I say to you, abandon evil and seek the good, for if you combine good with evil, the good will avail you nothing....

Verily, I say to you, blessed are those who spend their nights in prayer, for they shall have everlasting light. They stood in the darkness of the night in prayer in their prayer-chambers supplicating their Lord to save them from the hardships of the Last Day.... Verily, I say to you, O slaves of this world, neither this world you truly love, nor for the next do you hope. For if, indeed, you love this world, you should have rendered good the actions through which you obtained it. If you truly hope for the hereafter, your deeds should have conformed with your hopes....

Verily, I say to you, evil spirits have found no better place to dwell than your hearts. Behold! God gave this world to you that you may work in it for the world to come, and not that it should make you forget the hereafter. He made the earth wide for you that you may use it for a place of worship and not that you should use it for a stage for your sins. He enjoined you to do good and to be obedient to Him in it and not to be disobedient and sinful.... Verily, I say to you, as a tree is not perfect until it gives good fruit, so also your faith (dīn) will not be perfect until you avoid evil and seek the good.

Verily, I say to you, as plants will not grow except through

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[57] Matt. 5:23. This, and the following three statements are taken directly from the Sermon on the Mount.

water and soil, so also faith will not be perfect except through knowledge and good deeds. Verily, I say to you, as water extinguishes fire, so prudence extinguishes wrath. Verily, I say to you, as water and fire cannot be in one vessel, so also blindness and understanding cannot dwell in one heart....

Verily, I say to you, the sun is the light of everything, and wisdom is the light of every heart, and piety is the beginning of all wisdom. Truth is the gate to all goodness, and the mercy of God is the gate to every truth. The keys to all these are invocation, supplication, and good deeds. No door can be opened without a key....

Verily, I say to you, the carrying of heavy stones from mountain-tops is easier than speaking to a fool who comprehends not your speech.... Blessed is he who makes his words few and good, fearing by excessive speech the wrath of his Lord. Blessed is he who makes clear his speech and praises nothing until he discerns its consequences. Blessed is he who learns from the learned that which he did not know, and teaches the ignorant that which he learned....

Verily, I say to you, O my disciples,[58] you are among men as the living among the dead. Do not die with those who die.

Then Christ, peace be upon him, said, God, exalted be He, says, "My faithful servant grieves when I take away from him the pleasures of this world, but this I do because I desire to draw him nearer unto me. He rejoices when I bestow ease and comfort upon him in this world, yet this I love not, for it separates him from me." [59]

Conclusion

The image of Jesus which emerges from the two preceding texts is a composite one. In the first we see the Master as the humble

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[58] The disciples of Christ are given a high status in the Qur'ān. They are called *al-Ḥawāriyyūn*. In Shī'ism they are the true heirs of Jesus' prophetic knowledge and wisdom and are his vicegerents.

[59] This last saying is a typical divine utterance (Ḥadīth Qudsī) resembling both in words and ideas the divine sayings attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad.

servant of God, but one who is at the same time a highly favored and exalted friend of God. Jesus is commissioned to teach men the truth and thus to bring them nearer to God. Yet, he is sternly warned not to overstep his human limits of humility and servanthood before the divine majesty.

The second text breathes more the familiar air of the Synoptic Gospels, both in language and in ideas. Here, Jesus is the stern teacher and warner, instructing men and also passing harsh judgment on their folly, foolishness, and hypocrisy. Even here, however, the victims of this judgment are not specifically the Pharisees and Scribes of the Gospel, but imperfect humanity in general. Here again, Jesus is to be regarded as the chosen messenger sent to warn men and to preach to them the divine Revelation, even though he speaks the language of the Gospel. He remains, therefore, the Jesus of the Qur'ān, one in the long series of prophets and messengers of God for mankind.

Thus we see that like the Christ of Christian faith and hope, the Jesus of the Qur'ān and later Muslim piety is much more than a mere human being, or even simply the messenger of a Book. While the Jesus of Islam is not the Christ of Christianity, the Christ of the Gospel often speaks through the austere, human Jesus of Muslim piety. Indeed, the free spirits of Islamic mysticism found in the man Jesus not only the example of piety, love and asceticism which they sought to emulate, but also the Christ who exemplifies fulfilled humanity, a humanity illumined by the light of God. This reflection of the divine light in the human heart and soul is known in the language of Islamic mysticism as *tajallī*, the manifestation of divine beauty and majesty in and through man.

In this concept of divine manifestation, the Christian and Muslim images of Jesus converge at many points. Islam says that man can, and must draw nearer to God, and in the *mi'rāj* [the physical ascension of the Prophet to Heaven] and the "lifting up" of Jesus to God,[60] this takes on a most concrete form. Nevertheless, Islam insists on man being man and God being God in the absolute sense. Christianity, springing up in a different spiritual and cultural milieu, begins not with the ascent of man to the divine, but rather the descent of the divine to man. Thus the "Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us" becomes the expression of this encounter of man with the divine. In a way, therefore, the two approaches to the question of the divine-

[60] S. 4:158.

human relation here presented are widely divergent; yet this is only true in points of emphasis and in the position from which each of the two religious traditions start. In spite of these and other differences, however, we insist that Muslims and Christians can, and must, learn much from the man Jesus of Islam and from Christ the Lord of Christianity. This can only be achieved through honest and sincere efforts by us all to be existentially involved in the meaning and purpose of our existence in a world of sin and imperfection, but a world sanctified by the divine presence among and within us.

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SECTARIAN AFFILIATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF LEBANESE STUDENTS

Introduction

The most conspicuous feature of Middle Eastern society is the predominance of identity groups. A number of Middle Eastern scholars have pointed to the importance of these groups in shaping cultural and behavioral patterns in Middle Eastern societies. According to John Gulick, Middle Eastern in-groups are well-defined units of people with a high degree of esprit de corps; their influence has been acknowledged throughout the history of the Middle East.[1] Thus, for example, we are told by W. R. Smith that in Arabian centers of civilization at the time of Muḥammad, kin group ties were stronger than those of citizenship.[2] Albert Hourani adds that under the Ottoman Empire, religious, tribal, and linguistic groups formed closed communities which viewed each other with suspicion and hatred.[3] Referring to social change in the Middle East, H. A. R. Gibb points to the emergence in the Arab World of communities "each with its separate social, economic, and political structure, its local loyalties, its attention to particular interests." [4] Bringing a functional approach to his study on the Middle East, C. S. Coon states that in each country the population constitutes a "mosaic of people" characterized by an ethnic division of labor.[5] Inspired by the concepts of "balanced antagonism" and "group segmentation" developed by E. E. Evans-Pritchard,[6] John Gulick devised a theory of concentric spheres to analyse the functions of Middle Eastern identity groups

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[1] John Gulick, *Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village* (New York : Wenner-Gren Foundation, 1955), pp. 156-157.

[2] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1885), p. 2.

[3] Albert H. Hourani, *Minorities in the Arab World* (London : Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 22.

[4] H. A. R. Gibb, "Social Change in the Near East," in P. W. Ireland, ed., *The Near East : Problems and Prospects* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 73.

[5] C. S. Coon, *Caravan : The Story of the Middle East* (New York : Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1951), pp. 3 and 153.

[6] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* (London : Oxford University Press, 1940).

(family, lineage, village, etc.) in shaping the attitudes and behavior of their members.[7]

Lebanon, a Middle Eastern country, is no exception in respect to the importance of identity groups in the lives of its people.[8] One of these influential groups is the sect. Sectarian attitudes and religious beliefs are strong forces which penetrate all dimensions and affect all aspects of Lebanese society.[9] Thus, religion, religious symbols, and sectarian affiliations are so institutionalized in Lebanese culture that a Lebanese would think twice before crossing them out of his vocabulary. Moreover, irrespective of his personal feelings and private beliefs, every Lebanese must be ascribed to some sect.[10] This institutionalization of communal in-groups, we may add, is fostered and perpetuated by the Lebanese political system which is based on confessionalism; accordingly, political and administrative positions in the country are distributed among the religious communities according to their numerical strength.[11]

Despite the importance of institutionalized religious beliefs and sectarian affiliations in fostering the closed character of Lebanese communal in-groups, and despite the negative attitudes of the sects toward each other, ranging from reserve to hostility, one might expect the school to act as a melting pot to reduce the centrifugal impact of group compartmentalization. This expectation is founded on the fact that "the school is the one place where all children in a community or a district regardless of nationality, religion, politics, or social status, meet and work together in a cooperative and harmonious spirit." [12]

With this in mind, the author decided to explore to what extent religious beliefs and sectarian affiliations conditioned the political

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[7] Gulick, *Social Structure*, pp. 159-173.

[8] See Samir Khalaf, "Primordial Ties and Politics in Lebanon," *Middle Eastern Studies*, IV, 3 (1968), 243-269; John Gulick, "Old Values and New Institutions in a Lebanese Arab City," *Human Organization*, XXIV, 1 (1965), 51-52; Afif I. Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII, 2 (1942), 232-236.

[9] Michael W. Suleiman, *Political Parties in Lebanon* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 38-39.

[10] John Gulick, *Tripoli: A Modern Arab City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 37.

[11] H. H. Smith *et al.*, *Area Handbook for Lebanon* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 141-157.

[12] Robert Dahl, *Who Governs?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 316-317.

orientations of Lebanese students. Such an exploration could shed some light on the viability of the Lebanese political system, which may be threatened if students' political attitudes and orientations are heavily determined by sectarian affiliation rather than by national ties. Strong sectarian influence would indicate that the school is not serving to integrate society by moderating the conflict of communal demands on the students. If, on the other hand, the disuniting effect of sectarian affiliation is reduced among the students, this may augur well for the future of the Lebanese political system.[13]

Methodology

The research design adopted in this study utilized a questionnaire modeled after that of Greenstein in *Children and Politics*.[14] It was administered to 150 (75 Christian and 75 Muslim) Lebanese male students selected from a representative sample of Lebanese secondary schools.

Administration of the questionnaire took place from January through April, 1969. The students' answers were thoroughly examined and coded, and a scheme of categories under which all the responses would fall was devised.

Following the coding, a panel was formed consisting of two political scientists specializing in the Middle East, an economist from the Middle East, and the present writer. After receiving both data and coding scheme, the panel fitted every response into a category in the coding scheme. A computer was employed to determine frequencies and percentages, with sectarian affiliation as the unit of analysis; in turn, sectarian affiliation was broken down into subcategories: (1) Christian practicing; (2) Christian nonpracticing; (3) Muslim practicing; (4) Muslim nonpracticing;[15] and (5) Lebanese students.

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[13] For an analysis of cleavages as a source of stress for a political system, see David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), pp. 230-243.

[14] Fred I. Greenstein, *Children and Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 191-197.

[15] The Christian and Muslim practicing students were those who declared that they fulfilled religious obligations such as weekly attendance at the church or mosque, etc. The Christian and Muslim nonpracticing students were those who confessed that they were not fulfilling their religious obligations. Moreover, the two categories of practicing and nonpracticing Christian and Muslim students were intended to discover whether or not the lack of practice of religion had any significant effect on political attitudes and orientations. As the data indicate, practice or nonpractice of religion made little difference in students' attitudes or behavior.

This last category comprises four Christian students who, when asked about their sectarian affiliation, said that they were Lebanese.

Results of the Analysis

The role of sectarian affiliation in shaping the students' political knowledge, political behavior, and national sentiments was thoroughly examined and evaluated; the results are recorded below.

STUDENTS' FEELINGS ABOUT POLITICAL AUTHORITY

According to Greenstein, the feelings citizens have about political authority figures greatly affect the stability of the political system.[16] This is because the equilibrium of the body politic is influenced by the moods, manners, and expressed feelings of its members. Thus, the assumptions that people hold about the qualities of political leaders determine to a great extent their success or failure in performing their roles. In examining the students' feelings about political leaders, two points ought to be considered: (1) the importance of political leaders for the students and (2) the students' evaluation of political leaders in the performance of their roles. These points will be analyzed in terms of the students' answers to a series of questions intended to discover their feelings about their political leaders.

Importance of Political Leaders. The students were given a list of adult roles and asked to pick out from among them the four "most important" roles. The choices offered included political and non-political authority figures such as the president of the country, the mayor, the school principal, the teacher, as well as the judge, the physician, and the religious leader.

Table 1 shows that regardless of their sectarian affiliation, the majority of the practicing and nonpracticing Christian students, of practicing and nonpracticing Muslim students, and of those designating themselves Lebanese were not predominantly politically oriented in their choices. There was more reference in the students' answers to nonpolitical role holders such as the schoolteacher, the doctor and the soldier, as being very important in the Lebanese society, than to

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[16] Greenstein, *Children and Politics*, p. 27.

political role holders such as the president of the country, the governor, or the mayor.

TABLE 1

Adult Roles Defined as Most Important
(Percent exceeds 100 because of multiple choices)

Roles	*Christian Students*		*Muslim Students*		*Lebanese*
	Practicing	*Non-practicing*	*Practicing*	*Non-practicing*	
Schoolteacher	89.8 %	86.4 %	86.5 %	82.6 %	75.0 %
Doctor	79.5	81.8	94.2	87.0	100.0
Soldier	77.6	81.8	96.2	91.3	100.0
Judge	51.0	59.1	57.7	60.9	75.0
President of the country	49.0	40.9	34.6	30.4	25.0
Religious leader	32.7	13.6	17.3	17.4	0.0
School principal	10.2	18.2	3.9	17.4	25.0
Governor	6.1	9.1	0.0	4.3	0.0
Mayor	4.1	9.1	9.6	8.7	0.0
Number of Students	49	22	52	23	4

The results of the table indicate that the teacher is held in high regard among all students. However, the percentage of Christian students who considered the teacher's role "most" important was slightly higher than that of the Muslim students. This emphasis upon the teacher's role is perhaps not surprising, since education is highly valued and respect for learning penetrates all facets of Lebanese society. In Lebanon "the educated man is respected and each step up the ladder of schooling brings added prestige." [17]

Although the importance of the physician's role was indicated by a higher percentage of Muslim and of Lebanese students than of Christian students, the stress put by the majority on this role is very significant. This stress might be considered a reflection of a general attitude of Lebanese society which regards the physician highly because his services are considered indispensable. The majority of Lebanese people seem to believe that the physician plays an extremely important role in controlling the irregularities and abnormalities of

[17] Smith *et al.*, *Area Handbook*, p. 110.

nature, manifested in all kinds of sicknesses and mishaps. The physician's position is also enhanced by the value people place upon good health. The Lebanese are convinced that the physician possesses a manipulative power over it. Another factor that might have increased the importance of the physician consists of the number of school years the profession requires and, as we have mentioned earlier, education adds to one's prestige and importance.

Table 1 also indicates that the soldier was more highly regarded by Muslim and by Lebanese students than by Christian students. However, the high esteem expressed by the majority of all the students for the soldier's role might be indicative of the tendency of Lebanese society to glorify its history and the role of Lebanese soldiers in defending their country's independence and integrity against foreign rule. The Lebanese soldier is considered a symbol of bravery, and it is therefore not surprising that the majority of these young students acknowledge the importance of his role. Moreover, Lebanese radio conducts a daily special program for the army in which the soldier's importance, honesty, and devotion to his country are celebrated with enthusiasm and dignity. It is necessary, however, to add that the students' answers in stressing the soldier's importance might have been affected by the Israeli raid on Beirut International Airport in December, 1968. This raid had provoked student-led demonstrations and rallies underscoring the importance of, and the need for, a strong army to defend the country against foreign attack. Furthermore, students pressured the Chamber of Deputies to pass a law providing for mandatory military service.

Although the political roles were not considered as important as the nonpolitical roles by the majority of the students, it is significant to notice that the role of the president was considered "most" important by more Christian students than by Muslim and Lebanese students. Moreover, the table indicates that almost the same percentage of Muslim practicing (17.3 %) and nonpracticing (17.4 %) students considered the role of the religious leader "most" important, whereas more Christian practicing (32.7 %) than nonpracticing (13.6 %) and Lebanese (0.0 %) students did so.

Several factors seem to account for the lack of the students' awareness of the importance of political figures in Lebanese society. Perhaps chief among them might be the absence of civic education in Lebanese elementary and secondary schools. Students in these schools are not taught the fundamental principles about Lebanese government which would lead them to realize the importance of

political figures in maintaining a coherent political system and in safeguarding, if not creating, a cohesive Lebanese society.

Moreover, a second reason why political figures were not ranked highly might be the general dislike, even fear, of political leaders expressed by some Lebanese. These feelings are illustrated by an old Lebanese saying: "If you want to live a peaceful life, stay away from political and religious leaders."

Finally, the apparent lack of political activity of the political figures listed might tend to make people in Lebanon, particularly students, forget the importance of their roles. Thus, all these factors may have influenced the students, both Christian and Muslim, to choose nonpolitical rather than political figures as being "the most important" in Lebanese society.

Evaluation of Public Officials. Using a three-point scale ranging from very good to bad, the students were asked to evaluate the role performance of two public officials—their governor and the president of the country. Table 2 shows that the majority of the Christian students and of the Muslim students thought that the governor and the president of the country were not doing a good job in their roles. It is interesting to notice, however, that a substantial minority of the Muslim students viewed the performance of both leaders more favorably than did their Christian counterparts.

TABLE 2

Rating of President and Governor

Rating	*Christian Students*				*Muslim Students*				*Lebanese*	
	Practicing		*Non-practicing*		*Practicing*		*Non-practicing*			
	Gov.	*Pres.*	*Gov.*	*Pres.*	*Gov.*	*Pres.*	*Gov.*	*Pres.*	*Gov.*	*Pres.*
Very good	6.1 %	2.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	1.9 %	3.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %
Fairly good	10.2	8.2	13.6	0.0	26.9	13.5	26.0	17.4	25.0	25.0
Bad	61.2	75.5	54.6	68.2	57.7	71.2	44.0	60.8	75.0	75.0
Don't know	22.5	14.3	31.8	31.8	13.5	11.5	30.0	21.7	0.0	0.0
Number of Students	49		22		52		23		4	

Moreover, a fairly good percentage of practicing (22.5 %) and nonpracticing (31.8 %) Christian students and of practicing (13.5 %) and nonpracticing (30 %) Muslim students, when asked to evaluate the governor's performance, answered, "I don't know." The same response was also given about the job performance of the president by a good percentage of practicing (14.3 %) and nonpracticing (31.8 %) Christian students and of practicing (11.5 %) and nonpracticing (21.7 %) Muslim students. Explanation of this response is rather risky. The respondents might have feared the consequences of expressing their opinion and thus chose not to respond. A second explanation might be based on the hypothesis that their lack of political knowledge and information made any other answer impossible. Having no criteria to use in evaluating role performance, then, they simply replied that they did not know. It may well be that the second explanation is more accurate since, as we shall see in the section dealing with political knowledge, the majority of the students showed a pronounced lack of political information. With regard to the roles of the governor and the president, the table shows that only one Lebanese student thought that the governor and the president were doing a fairly good job and three thought that they were doing a bad job.

Thus, as can readily be seen, the results of the data dealing with feelings about political leaders indicate that the practicing and nonpracticing students, both Christian and Muslim, and the Lebanese students were not impressed by the performance of the president and governor, although more Muslims were favorable. This tendency seems to be in harmony with the results Fred Greenstein reported in his book, *Children and Politics*. He stated that older people are more inclined than children to criticize political leaders and to express dissatisfaction when asked to evaluate their performance in their jobs.[18]

STUDENTS AND POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

The students were asked a series of questions dealing with the definition of certain political roles and institutions. The results indicated a pronounced lack of political knowledge among both Christian and Muslim students, whether practicing or not, and among the Lebanese students.

Thus, Table 3 shows that none of the practicing and nonpracticing

[18] Greenstein, *Children and Politics*, pp. 35-36.

TABLE 3

Capacity to Define the Roles of the Mayor, the Governor, and the President

	Christian Students						*Muslim Students*						*Lebanese*		
	Practicing			*Non-practicing*			*Practicing*			*Non-practicing*					
	Myr.	*Gov.*	*Pres.*	*Myr.*	*Gov.*	*Pres.*	*Myr.*	*Gov.*	*Pres.*	*Myr.*	*Gov.*	*Pres.*	*Myr.*	*Gov.*	*Pres.*
Very well defined	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	4.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %
Fairly well defined	20.4	10.2	20.4	13.6	9.1	22.7	5.7	7.7	19.2	4.3	4.3	17.4	25.0	25.0	25.0
Poorly defined	65.3	73.5	75.5	68.2	81.8	72.7	90.4	86.6	77.0	87.0	82.6	73.9	75.0	75.0	75.0
No answer	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.0	3.8	0.0	1.9	4.3	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know	14.3	16.3	4.1	18.2	4.5	4.6	0.0	5.8	1.9	4.3	8.7	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Number of Students	49			22			52			23			4		

Christian students knew how to define accurately the mayor's, the governor's, or the president's roles. Although a minority, not exceeding 22.0 %, defined these roles fairly well, the majority gave what were considered poor and unsatisfactory definitions. Moreover, although the students were familiar with the mayor's and governor's names, they were unaware, or only superficially aware, of the nature of their roles. Answers such as "the mayor takes care of the problems of the village," "the mayor takes care of the public good," "the governor takes care of his district," are general, indeterminate, and imply a lack of political knowledge among the students.

Moreover, the table seems to indicate that an even greater majority of the practicing and nonpracticing Muslim students showed a substantial lack of political information about the mayor's, the governor's, and the president's roles. Thus, for instance, 86.6 % of the practicing Muslim students and 82.6 % of the nonpracticing as opposed to 73.5 % of the practicing Christian students and 81.8 % of the nonpracticing defined the government's role poorly. The same lack of political knowledge was noticeable in the answers of the majority of the Lebanese students. Thus, only 25.0 % defined fairly well the mayor's, the governor's and the president's roles, and 75.0 % defined them poorly.

What is surprising is the fact that the Christian and Muslim students, both practicing and nonpracticing, and the Lebanese students are not very well acquainted with the role of the president of the country. Here, also, the students' answers were too general and indicated an acute deficiency of training in the realm of political roles (Table 3). For example, some of the students made responses such as "the president defends the country," and "the president defends the constitution." These answers are not sufficiently informative about the powers, rights and responsibilities of the role of the president. It is interesting to notice that more Christian than Muslim students (both practicing and nonpracticing), when asked to define the mayor's, governor's, and president's roles, gave an "I don't know" answer (Table 3).

The students' lack of political knowledge was also noticeable in their definition of the role of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies. The majority (about 75.0 %) of the practicing and nonpracticing Muslim and Christian students and of Lebanese students were not aware of the powers and responsibilities of the legislative body of their country.

When students were asked to define confessionalism, their answers were as vacuous as for the earlier questions. It was surprising to

notice that most of these college students (about 80.0 %) were unable to give an adequate and acceptable definition of confessionalism, on which rests the structure of the entire Lebanese political system. Answers such as "confessionalism is bad" or "confessionalism is good" demonstrate the students' lack of understanding of such an important and fundamental concept in the life of their governmental structure.

TABLE 4

Capacity to Define Civic Education

	Christian Students		*Muslim Students*		*Lebanese*
	Practicing	*Non-practicing*	*Practicing*	*Non-practicing*	
Very well defined	2.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %
Adequately defined	18.4	22.7	5.8	8.7	0.0
Poorly defined	65.3	72.7	55.7	78.2	100.0
No answer	2.0	0.0	1.9	4.3	0.0
Don't know	12.2	4.5	36.5	8.7	0.0
Number of Students	49	22	52	23	4

An approach toward an explanation of this astonishing lack of political knowledge may be found in the results of Table 4. Although more practicing (18.4 %) and nonpracticing (22.7 %) Christian students than practicing (5.8 %) and nonpracticing (8.7 %) Muslim students adequately defined civic education, the majority of them all manifested a pronounced lack of understanding of the meaning of the concept. Even more Muslim students (practicing 36.5 % and nonpracticing 8.7 %), when asked to define civic education, stated, "I don't know." Furthermore, it was interesting to notice that, in trying to define civic education, a fairly good number of students attending Christian (about 17 %), Muslim (about 18 %), and public schools (about 17 %) stated that civic education is not taught in their schools and that consequently they were not able to define it adequately. The absence of civic education from the curricula may be one of the major causes of the lack of political knowledge and information among these college students.

STUDENTS' POLITICAL INTEREST

The pronounced lack of political knowledge among the students is paralleled by their strong tendency to discuss politics. Table 5 shows that the majority of all students queried expressed a determined interest in discussing politics with their friends.

TABLE 5

Interest in Discussing Politics with Their Friends

	Christian Students		*Muslim Students*		*Lebanese*
	Practicing	*Non-practicing*	*Practicing*	*Non-practicing*	
Yes	77.6 %	72.7 %	75.0 %	87.0 %	100.0 %
No	22.4	27.3	25.0	13.0	0.0
Number of Students	49	22	52	23	4

However, it is interesting to notice that the percentage of the nonpracticing Muslim students who showed a strong desire for political discussions was the highest among the first four categories.

The students' interest in politics is also illustrated by their consumption of news broadcast through the mass media. The majority of the practicing (89.8 %) and the nonpracticing (81.8 %) Christians, an even greater majority of the practicing (90.4 %) and the nonpracticing (95.7 %) Muslims, and all Lebanese students, stated an affirmative answer when asked if they would like to hear or watch the news on the radio or television. Only an insignificant minority responded negatively.

The same results are indicated by Table 6. In the students' answers to how often they read a newspaper, most of the practicing and the nonpracticing Christian students, as well as most of the practicing and the nonpracticing Muslim students declared that they read it every day. A fairly substantial percentage, however, as Table 6 shows, stated that they read one only weekly.

TABLE 6

Tendency to Read the Newspaper

	Christian Students		*Muslim Students*		*Lebanese*
	Practicing	*Non-practicing*	*Practicing*	*Non-practicing*	
Every day	61.2 %	63.6 %	65.4 %	60.9 %	75.0 %
Every week	30.6	27.3	21.2	21.7	25.0
Every month	8.2	4.5	7.7	8.7	0.0
Every year	0.0	4.5	1.9	4.3	0.0
Never	0.0	0.0	3.8	4.3	0.0
Number of Students	49	22	52	23	4

The students' lack of political knowledge and information about political roles and institutions at first seems incompatible with their interest in politics. Thus, expressing a strong tendency to discuss politics and talk about it with their friends, and interested in the content of the mass media, the students might be expected to have a good acquaintance with the roles of their political leaders and the structure of their governmental institutions. This logic, however, proved not to be true; on the contrary, their political interest failed to create an incentive to study the functions of their public officials.[19]

These results tend to be illustrative of the same pattern operative in Lebanese society as a whole, regardless of sectarian affiliation. The Lebanese people manifest, in general, a pronounced weakness in understanding the structure and functions of their political institutions.[20] They show an almost total lack of interest in knowing what the rights and responsibilities of their public officials and political leaders are. On the other hand, they are very much interested in seeking to understand the political issues which affect their life and their interests.

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[19] Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, eds., *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 3-64 and 532-576. Almond and Coleman declare that this apparent inconsistency is a characteristic of developing countries.

[20] Smith *et al.*, *Area Handbook*, pp. 4 and 159.

STUDENTS' PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE AND POLITICS

In order to explore their desire to participate in public life, the students were asked to state all the jobs they would like to hold after their graduation from college. Their answers indicated that the students, both Muslim and Christian, were professionally or government oriented. Table 7 shows that the majority of the practicing Christian students and 50 % of the nonpracticing chose liberal professions. A substantial minority stated their desire to work for the government. The same orientation is seen among the practicing and nonpracticing Muslim students. About 55 % of the practicing Muslim students wanted to be professionals, and about 38 % wanted to be government agents. Moreover, about two-thirds of the nonpracticing Muslims were professionally oriented in their choice and one-third government oriented. The Lebanese students were equally divided. Two wanted to be professionals and two wanted to work for the government.

TABLE 7

Inclination to Participate in Public Life

	Christian Students		*Muslim Students*		*Lebanese*
	Practicing	*Non-practicing*	*Practicing*	*Non-practicing*	
Professional	55.1 %	50.0 %	55.8 %	60.9 %	50.0 %
Government	44.9	45.5	38.8	34.8	50.0
Business enterprise	0.0	0.0	5.8	4.3	0.0
Don't know	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0

This dichotomy in the students' choices may be explained by the importance Lebanese society as a whole places upon achievement in life. In the present Lebanese value system, liberal professions and governmental positions are the most highly regarded manifestations of achievement. Thus, Lebanese families, both Christian and Muslim, do not hesitate to make great sacrifices in order to help their children attain these goals, which are believed to add to the family's prestige and to increase its social status. It is important to add that although the Lebanese people are suspicious of government officials and think they are susceptible to corruption and graft, they still consider government jobs as being socially prestigious and a major basis for economic security.

TABLE 8

Willingness to Participate in Politics

	Christian Students		*Muslim Students*		*Lebanese*
	Practicing	*Non-practicing*	*Practicing*	*Non-practicing*	
Yes	77.6 %	72.7 %	71.2 %	60.9 %	100.0 %
No	10.2	9.1	13.5	13.0	0.0
Don't know	10.2	18.2	15.4	26.1	0.0
Number of Students	49	22	52	23	4

The students showed also a keen interest in political activity. Thus, Table 8 indicates that about three-fourths of the practicing and nonpracticing Christian students stated their willingness to participate in elections when they became old enough. A lesser, but nonetheless substantial, majority of the practicing Muslim students and of the nonpracticing, and all the Lebanese students also expressed the same desire.

Most of the students expressed a deep respect for the concept of democracy. Table 9 shows that the great majority of all students gave an affirmative answer when asked whether or not they believe in democracy. This seems to indicate a tendency prevalent among the Lebanese to cherish freedom and to reject all measures reducing democratic practices in their country.

TABLE 9

Attitude Toward the Concept of Democracy

	Christian Students		*Muslim Students*		*Lebanese*
	Practicing	*Non-practicing*	*Practicing*	*Non-practicing*	
Yes	98.0 %	90.9 %	92.3 %	95.7 %	100.0 %
No	2.0	9.1	7.7	4.3	0.0
Number of Students	49	22	52	23	4

In contrast to their love for democracy and freedom, however, is the students' cynical attitude toward their government. Table 10

shows that a significant majority of all students denied the existence of any channels of communication between the decision-making units of the government and the people. In other words, most students, regardless of sectarian affiliation, thought that the decisions of the government were not reached by consultation with the people. This lack of communication, many contend, may exert tremendous tension and stress on the political system, and thus endanger its viability by affecting its capacity to function.[21]

TABLE 10

Degree of Attention Paid by the Government to the Opinions of the People

	Christian Students		*Muslim Students*		*Lebanese*
	Practicing	*Non-practicing*	*Practicing*	*Non-practicing*	
Very good deal	2.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %
Good deal	12.2	4.5	3.8	4.3	0.0
Not much	14.3	9.1	26.9	26.1	25.0
Not any	71.4	86.4	69.3	69.6	75.0
Number of Students	49	22	52	23	4

Cynicism toward the government is also illustrated by the answer to another point on the questionnaire. Asked whether or not they trust their government, the majority of the practicing Christian students (81.6 %) and of the nonpracticing (95.5 %) answered negatively. A negative answer was also given by 86.5 % of the practicing Muslim students and by a lesser but significant percentage (78.3 %) of the nonpracticing. Seventy-five percent of the Lebanese students also declared that they did not trust their government. This distrust seems to reflect a tendency among Lebanese to be highly suspicious of government authorities. They tend to believe that government employees and other authority figures seek first to satisfy their personal interests (cf. also the discussion on Table 1).

These feelings of distrust are also illustrated by the students' answers to whether authority was good or bad in Lebanon. The majority (about 82.0 %) of the practicing and nonpracticing students,

[21] For a detailed study of these stresses as a dangerous source of strain for the political system, see Easton, *Systems Analysis*, pp. 57-69.

both Muslim and Christian, and all the Lebanese students, thought that authority was bad because its figures are oriented toward self-interest and do not seek to satisfy the needs of the Lebanese population as a whole.

STUDENTS AND RELIGIOUS FEELINGS

As mentioned above, religion remains one of the most influential forces in the Lebanese social complex; the Lebanese are greatly affected by confessional considerations which not only guide their thinking but also shape their lives and govern their relations with others. Noting the importance of religion in the whole Arab Middle East, Albert Hourani observed that "the primary divisions inside the Near East are, as they have been for over a thousand years, religious." [22] Moreover, the results of our analysis tend to confirm the deep-rooted character of religious affiliations among the students, both Christian and Muslim. Out of a total of seventy-five Christian students 65.4 % were practicing and 29.3 % were nonpracticing.

TABLE 11

Percentage and Number of Practicing and Nonpracticing Christian Students

	Percentage	*Number of Students*
Christian practicing	65.4 %	49
Christian nonpracticing	29.3	22
Lebanese	5.3	4
Total		75

Only four Christian students, or 5.3 %, when asked about their religion, stated that they were Lebanese. The same tendency is found among the Muslim students. Out of a total of seventy-five students, 69.3 % stated that they practiced their religion, and only 30.7 % declared that they were nonpracticing. This tendency among the majority of the students, both Christian and Muslim, to practice

[22] Albert Hourani, "Race, Religion, and Nation-State in the Near East," in his collection of papers, *A Vision of History* (Beirut: Khayat's, 1961), pp. 72-73.

their religion is indicative of a strong attachment to religion in the Middle East in general, and in Lebanon in particular.

TABLE 12

Percentage and Number of Practicing and Nonpracticing Muslim Students

	Percentage	*Number of Students*
Muslim practicing	69.3 %	52
Muslim nonpracticing	30.7	23
Total		75

Christian and Muslim students, both practicing and nonpracticing, appear to be influenced by sectarian ties and express a profound support for their respective coreligionists. The data seem to indicate that religion in Lebanese society is still considered the major guiding light one must follow in order to avoid falling into the morass of anonymity.

When first-year college students were asked to state the names of Lebanese with whom they would like to identify, the majority of the practicing Christian students (98.0 %), and all the nonpracticing (100.0 %), chose Christian personalities. On the other hand, most of the practicing Muslim students (88.5 %), and of the nonpracticing (78.3 %), picked Muslim personalities. Moreover, it is significant to mention that more Muslim students, both practicing (11.5 %) and nonpracticing (21.7 %), expressed their desire to identify with Christian personalities than Christian students did with Muslim (2 % of the practicing and none of the nonpracticing). All the Lebanese students chose Christian personalities.

The same trend was confirmed by the responses to the request to name Lebanese people with whom they did not want to identify. The majority of the practicing and of the nonpracticing Christian students, and 75 % of the Lebanese students stated the names of Muslim personalities. An even greater majority of practicing and nonpracticing Muslim students named Christian personalities.

When the students were given the names of some Lebanese personalities, both Christian and Muslim, and were asked to pick out the name of one person known to them, the majority of the

practicing Muslim students (78.8 %) and of the nonpracticing (69.5 %) picked out Muslim names. An even more substantial majority of the practicing Christian students (91.8 %) and of the nonpracticing (77.3 %) and all the Lebanese students picked out Christian names.

TABLE 13

Selection of Lebanese Personalities They Do Not Want To Be Like

	Christian Students		*Muslim Students*		*Lebanese*
	Practicing	*Non-practicing*	*Practicing*	*Non-practicing*	
Political Christians	10.2 %	22.7 %	86.6 %	78.3 %	25.0 %
Political Muslims	85.8	72.8	9.6	4.3	75.0
Other Christians	2.0	0.0	3.8	8.7	0.0
Other Muslims	2.0	4.5	0.0	8.7	0.0
Number of Students	49	22	52	23	4

The importance of sectarian affiliation in shaping the behavior of students is also apparent in their choice of the most important party in Lebanon. Table 14 indicates that the majority of the practicing and nonpracticing Christian students and 75.0 % of the Lebanese students mentioned the names of Christian parties. Moreover, it is very interesting to notice that a fairly good percentage picked out secular parties where religion does not determine the selection of membership. On the other hand, an even greater percentage of the practicing and nonpracticing Muslim students gave the names of Muslim parties as being the most important in Lebanon.

TABLE 14

Choice of the Most Important Parties in Lebanon

	Christian Students		*Muslim Students*		*Lebanese*
	Practicing	*Non-practicing*	*Practicing*	*Non-practicing*	
Christian	85.7 %	63.3 %	1.9 %	4.3 %	75.0 %
Muslim	0.0	0.0	88.5	95.7	0.0
Secular	14.3	36.4	9.6	0.0	25.0
Number of Students	49	22	52	23	4

As we can see, in political matters the students' answers were greatly influenced by their respective religious affiliations. Thus, we can conclude that the educational experience of these students has not eliminated confessional cleavages in Lebanese society and that the influence of sectarian ties is still predominant and pervasive, at least among Lebanese students. In other words, family and kinship groups are not the only social and traditional groups to which a Lebanese belongs; the religious community is another group with which the Lebanese is taught at an early age to identify himself and with which he is certain to be identified by others.

STUDENTS AND NATIONAL FEELINGS

Regardless of sectarian affiliation, students showed a great interest in becoming acquainted with their country's history. Thus, given the choice between reading comic books or books relating their country's history, the majority of the practicing Christian students (81.6 %) and of the nonpracticing (63.6 %) and 75.0 % of the Lebanese students opted for the second alternative. The same option was made by an even greater percentage of the practicing Muslim students (84.6 %), and most of the nonpracticing (87.0 %). This tendency is illustrative of a profound inclination among the Lebanese people to discuss with lively interest the historical background of their country. The achievements of Phoenicia and the splendors of Baalbak are recounted with great pride. Youths are told by their parents about the maritime supremacy of Phoenicia and the extraordinary achievements of its skilled navigators, the famous juristic scholars of Beirut, and the characteristics, good and bad, of the successive foreign administrations. Moreover, the Lebanese express particular pride in their rebellions against despotic and repressive foreign rulers. Many narratives told to children glorify the exploits of ancestors who died defending the independence of their land.

The concurrence between the Christian and the Muslim students is broken over the issue of Pan-Arabism, the inspiring ideology of Arab unity. Despite the historical facts that many Christians were prominent in founding Pan-Arabism and that Muslim roots are as deep as Christian roots in Lebanon, the Christian students tended to identify with Lebanon's uniqueness and independence while the Muslim students were more inclined to identify with Pan-Arabism.

Table 15 offers us a significant illustration of this polarization. The students were asked which of the following countries' history they would like to read about "most" : the United States, the Soviet

Union, Lebanon, or the Arab states. The majority of the practicing Christian students (79.6 %) and the nonpracticing (72.8 %) and all the Lebanese students stated that they would like to read about the history of Lebanon. On the contrary, 82.7 % of the practicing Muslim students and 78.3 % of the nonpracticing expressed their preference for reading about the history of the Arab states.

TABLE 15

Preference for Reading About the History of the Countries Mentioned Below

	Christian Students		*Muslim Students*		*Lebanese*
	Practicing	*Non-practicing*	*Practicing*	*Non-practicing*	
History of U.S.	12.2 %	9.1 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %
History of U.S.S.R.	4.1	4.5	1.9	0.0	0.0
History of Lebanon	79.6	72.8	15.4	21.7	100.0
History of Arab Sts.	4.1	13.6	82.7	78.3	0.0
Number of Students	49	22	52	23	4

The polarization among the students was confirmed by the students' answers on whether they would like to read newspapers supporting the independence of Lebanon or the formation of an Arab unity. Most of the practicing Christian students (about 77.0 %) and of the nonpracticing (about 76.0 %) and all the Lebanese students expressed their preference for reading newpapers which support Lebanon's independence. On the other hand, a more substantial percentage (80.0 %) of the practicing Muslim students and about 81.0 % of the nonpracticing stated that they would rather read newspapers which advocate Lebanon's inclusion into a larger Arab entity. The students were asked to state with which of the following they would prefer to identify: their religion, Lebanon, or Pan-Arabism. The majority of the practicing Christian students (87.7 %) and of the nonpracticing (72.7 %) and all of the Lebanese students picked Lebanon. On the contrary, a lesser but still significant majority of the practicing Muslim students (67.3 %) and of the nonpracticing (69.6 %) chose Pan-Arabism. While only 4.1 % of the practicing Christian students indicated religion as their option, 17.3 % of the practicing Muslim students did so (for the nonpracticing Christians, none; for the nonpracticing Muslims, 4.3 %).

Conclusion

The results of the data lead us to draw the following conclusions. First, they indicate that students' sectarian affiliation had no significant effect on the amount of their political knowledge. In fact, the overwhelming majority of both Christian and Muslim students showed a pronounced lack of such knowledge. It was astonishing to notice that most of these first-year college students failed to give satisfactory definitions of such political roles as those of the mayor, the governor, and the president. Not only were their definitions poor, but they also reflected the absence of an elementary political background necessary for a satisfactory acquaintance with these roles. Most of the students tended to show a lack of awareness of the function of the parliament and of the powers and responsibilities of the deputies elected to represent them in protecting their country's interests. Furthermore, it was surprising that the overwhelming majority of both Christian and Muslim students was unable to state an acceptable definition of political confessionalism, the foundation of the Lebanese political system.

A clue to the cause of the lack of political knowledge may be found in Table 4, which indicates that the majority of the students, both Muslim and Christian, were incapable of defining civic education, perhaps because it is not taught in their schools. This want of political knowledge may be the source of many stresses exerted on the Lebanese political system and manifested by the lack of adequate communication channels and by noncooperation between leaders and followers.

Second, the analysis indicates that in confessional matters the orientations of the majority of the students, whether Christian or Muslim, and whether practicing or not, were guided, if not determined, by their sectarian affiliations. This conclusion reflects the grasp religion still has on Lebanese society. It not only shapes the thinking of the people, but also determines their various activities and statuses in society. For example, cases involving marriage, divorce, and inheritance are still under the jurisdiction of the religious communities.[23] Moreover, it seems that the Christian-Muslim dichotomy continues to be maintained in the younger generations, despite the unifying influence their schools might be expected to exert. The hold sectarian affiliation has over the people of Lebanon can be explained

[23] Smith *et al.*, *Area Handbook*, p. 123.

by the fact that the religious community is another group, besides the family, to which a Lebanese must belong.[24]

Third, the data show that the question of national identity was the object of sharp dissent between the Christian and Muslim students. Thus, the overwhelming majority of the practicing and nonpracticing Christian students expressed their concern about Lebanon and their willingness to identify with Lebanese nationhood. On the contrary, the majority of the Muslim students showed a vivid interest in identifying with Pan-Arab causes.

This polarization between Christian and Muslim students reflects the general pattern which divides Lebanese society into two major groups, Christians and Muslims. The former, viewing Lebanon as the only refuge in the largely Muslim Arab world where they can freely practice their religion without the odium of minority status, seem willing to defend its integrity at any price.[25] The latter seem more inclined to identify with the ideals and causes of their coreligionists, who form the majority in the Arab world. Moreover, they are still alienated by France's creation of Greater Lebanon in 1920, a measure which severed their relations with their country Syria and which attached them to a new one where they do not form the majority of the population and where they do not feel at ease.[26] However, a small elite, forming the Muslim upper class, would not like to see Lebanon lose its independence, but urges Christian leaders toward greater cooperation with other Arab countries. Nevertheless, the failure of the schools to inculcate a common sense of national identity is evident.

These conclusions, in pointing to the failure of the secondary schools in developing political awareness and national consciousness among the students sampled, attest once again to the importance of sectarian bonds in shaping confessional attitudes and behavior. They constitute an illustration of the communal in-group encapsulation which Lebanese scholars have singled out and deplored as a feature institutionalized in the educational system. Pointing to its dysfunctional part in maintaining the fragmented character of Lebanese society, a number of them have called for the establishment of an

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[24] Michael Hudson, *The Precarious Republic* (New York : Random House, 1968), p. 21.

[25] This concern of Lebanese Christians about the independence of Lebanon was emphasized to me by a number of leading Christian Lebanese during my stay in Lebanon in the summer of 1972.

[26] K. S. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon* (New York: Praeger, 1965), pp. 162-168.

educational covenant among the confessional communities; its purpose would be to unify the educational system and promote among both Muslim and Christian students national sentiments based on sound citizenship.[27] They consider this to be the only way to promote the Lebanese school as an agency of political socialization and integration and to strengthen the sentiments of citizenship among all Lebanese students.[28] The present author, on the basis of his own study of Lebanese students, believes that the creation of an educational covenant merits serious consideration.

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[27] Reverend Abdallah Dagher, "The Principles of a National Educational Covenant," in *Mulḥaq an-Nahār*, Aug. 31, 1969, pp. 10-11 (in Arabic).

[28] Joseph Antoun, "The Educational Curricula in the Service of Lebanon," in *The Role of the School in Overcoming Confessionalism* (Beirut: Phalanges Libanaises, 1969), p. 25 (in Arabic).

THE MARONITE PATRIARCH: AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF A RELIGIOUS ZA'ĪM[1] IN THE 1958 LEBANESE CRISIS

Part I

During the last two centuries, the Maronite Patriarch has played an increasingly important role in Lebanese politics. One contemporary manifestation of that role was dramatically demonstrated in the Lebanese crisis of 1958. While the literature to date may not accurately reflect the magnitude of his role,[2] the Arabic press of Beirut during the crisis portrays the Patriarch as a national leader. Maintaining very close ties with key members of the Opposition,[3] Patriarch Méouchy frequently represented and vigorously supported various Opposition views to local, national, regional, and international personalities. These activities made him a critic and then an open opponent of President Sham'ūn's policies. Indeed, it appeared at times as though the Maronite Patriarch was in fact the leader of the predominantly Muslim Opposition. As the crisis was played out, the Patriarch became a vital factor in the abatement of explosive sectarian tensions.

The first section of this article presents a brief analytic sketch

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[1] In the context of this article *za'īm* implies the "chief of a non-Muslim community (such as a Christian Patriarch)." See Arnold Hottinger, "Zu'amā' in Historical Perspective," in Leonard Binder, *Politics in Lebanon* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), p. 103.

[2] See Muhammed Agwani, ed., *The Lebanese Crisis: A Documentary Study* (London: Asia Printing House, 1965); Michael Hudson, *The Precarious Republic: Political Modernization in Lebanon* (New York: Random House, 1969); L. M. T. Meo, *Lebanon: Improbable Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965); Fahim Qubain, *Crisis in Lebanon* (Washington: Middle East Institute, 1961). See also Jean-Pierre Alem, "Troubles Insurrectionnels au Liban," *Orient*, 2e année, 2e trimestre, no. 6 (1958), pp. 37-49; Pierre Rondot, "La Crise du Liban," *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, 3e trimestre, no. 43 (1958), pp. 45-53; Kamal S. Salibi, "The Lebanese Crisis in Perspective," *Middle East Forum*, XIV, 9 (1959), 16-21; and Arnold Hottinger, "Zu'amā' and Parties in the Lebanese Crisis of 1958," *Middle East Journal*, XV, 2 (1961), 127-140.

[3] Saeb Salaam, Rachid Karamé, Kamal Joumblatt, Hussein El-Oueyni, Sabri Hamadé, Kamel al-Assad, and Abdallah Yafi. (The spelling of the proper names in this article is that found in *Who's Who in Lebanon*.)

of the significant historical factors and circumstances from which the Patriarch's political influence may be said to have emerged in the 1958 crisis. The primary objective, however, is to present a systematic survey and analysis of Patriarch Méouchy's political role prior to and during that period.

Historical Background

The written history of the Maronite Church up to the Ottoman era, while not voluminous, provides a clear picture of the Church's major institutional developments and the factors which conditioned them. In search of physical security and religious freedom,[4] the eponymous founder of ecclesiastical Maronitism,[5] Yūḥannā Maroun, migrated with his community from the environs of Antioch to the area within the present boundaries of north Lebanon. Nearly isolated, but well protected in the high and rugged mountains, a type of feudal system arose among the Maronites in which "the Patriarch seems to have been the supreme head in religious *and* civil matters." [6] By the time of the Crusades,[7] two important patterns emerged which tended to characterize principal areas of pertinence to the high Maronite clergy: in the first we observe the clergy vigorously defending their autonomy, while in the second we see a growing affinity to the West, first with Rome [8] and later with France.

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[4] From the fifth through the eighth centuries A.D., Maronites suffered periodic persecution and destruction of monastic properties at the hands of Monophysites. See P. K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 247-248; Elias Y. Hayek, "Maronite Rite," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX (1967), 245; and George-Joseph Mahfoud, *L'Organisation Monastique dans l'Église Maronite* (Beirut: Bibl. de l'Université Saint-Esprit, 1967), pp. 35-66. A concise and detailed history of the Maronites to the present is found in Kamal S. Salibi, *al-Mawārina, ṣūra tārīkhiyya* (Beirut: Al-Nahār, n.d.).

[5] René Ristelhueber, *Les Traditions Françaises au Liban* (Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1925), p. 13; Aziz S. Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity* (London: Methuen and Company, 1968), p. 396.

[6] Hayek, "Maronite Rite," *N.C.E.*, IX (1967), 246.

[7] Kamal S. Salibi in his *Maronite Historians of Mediaeval Lebanon* (Beirut: American University Press, 1959) examines Lebanese history in the Crusader and Mamluk periods as presented by three eminent Maronite historians—Ibn al-Qilā'ī, al-Duwayhī, and al-Shidyāq—providing valuable information on the two periods, particularly with respect to the orthodoxy question.

[8] This association resulted in the consecration in 1584 of the Maronite College at Rome. While a few Maronites had previously gone to Rome for training in theology, following 1584 their numbers significantly increased. Many of Lebanon's brightest

During the Ottoman era, Lebanon underwent several important social and political transformations. With respect to the basic notion underpinning social and political activity, I am solely concerned here with the meaning of the 'secular' principle, its gradual disappearance, and the emergence of the 'communal' principle. Professor Albert Hourani has characterized the secular principle as embodying the notion that all holders of authority in Lebanon, especially hereditary fiefholders (*muqāṭi'jīs*) of any religion, stood "in a sense above his own community, and should protect the religious men and laity of faiths other than his own." [9] While this principle remained operative, concord prevailed in Lebanon between Druzes and Maronites, especially in the recently mixed districts.[10]

The functional role of the muqāṭi'jīs in the feudal (*iqṭā'*) system is central to understanding the evolution of the social and political structure. The muqāṭi'jī was a hereditary chief and fiefholder who, by virtue of kinship and tradition, held legitimate authority over designated districts. His duties included collecting taxes, exercising limited judicial authority, and extracting unpaid labor from the peasantry. It was only with the tacit consent of the muqāṭi'jīs that the Ruler of the Mountain (*Ḥākim al-Jabal*) was able to maintain security.[11]

Nevertheless, the unity and harmony of the *imārā* (principality) was slowly, but irrevocably, being undermined by certain divisive

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Maronite students went to their college to become upon their return agents of change or outstanding patriarchs. See Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, p. 402, and Iliya F. Harik, *Politics and Change in a Traditional Society: Lebanon, 1711-1845* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 78, 79, 96, 143, 152, 160, 221, 281, and 286. On the subject of relations with Rome and the West, see also K. S. Salibi, "The Maronite Church in the Middle Ages and its Union with Rome," *Oriens Christianus*, XLII (1958), 93-104, and H. Lemmens, "Frère Gryphon et le Liban au XVe siècle," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, IV (1899), 68-104.

[9] Albert Hourani, "The Development of a Political Society," in L. Binder, *Politics in Lebanon*, pp. 15-16.

[10] In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Maronites migrated southward from Bishārī, Batrūn, and Jubā'il into Kisrawān. During the Crusader period several non-Maronite family clans migrated into Lebanon from Syria. Again, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Maronites migrated southward in large numbers into Druze districts until "a veritable Maronite colonialization of Lebanon took place." See Kamal S. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965), pp. xix-xx, and K. S. Salibi, "Lebanon in Historical Perspective," *Middle East Forum*, XXXIV, 3 (March, 1959), 17-18.

[11] See Harik, *Politics and Change*, pp. 61-64, and Malcolm Kerr, *Lebanon in the Last Years of Feudalism, 1840-1868: A Contemporary Account by Anṭūn Dāhir al-'Aqīqi and Other Documents* (Beirut: American University Press, 1959), p. 3.

forces. Specifically, these were the continued southward migration of Maronite peasantry, new increases in the authority of the Church hierarchy,[12] "the transfer of Shihābi favour from Druze to Maronites, and the growth and influence of the great Druze families Jumblatt and Bellama." [13]

It is not my intention to describe in detail the complex evolution by which Shihābi favor was transferred from the Druzes to Maronites; it is important, nevertheless, to bear in mind the primary causes of that transfer. Much of the unity of the imāra rested upon the Ḥākim's successful orchestration, based on the secular principle, of Druze and Maronite muqāṭi'jīs. During the momentous reign of the Ḥākim Amīr Bashīr II (1788-1840), the traditional authority of the Druze muqāṭi'jīs was eroded and subsequently eliminated. Several reasons help to explain this critical phenomenon. First, the Maronite migrations southward, having created mixed districts with the Druzes, encouraged Maronites in those areas to press for solely Maronite interests and for Maronite local leadership. Second, a stronger and reformed Maronite Church provided its followers with a growing sense of religious identity and communal solidarity. Third, the relative success of Maronite agricultural and economic endeavor,[14] accompanied by an increase in their population, inspired the high Maronite clergy to contrive a major penetration into the ruling structure of the imāra. The avenue of this penetration was the appointive office of the *mudabbir* (administrative assistant to the Ḥākim) necessitated by the increasing complexity of governing the imāra. As Maronites steadily filtered into this office,[15] they acquired privileges which had formerly been the preserve of the mostly Druze muqāṭi'jīs and even

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[12] Beginning with the Synód of Maronite clergy of 1736, a series of reforms were implemented which ultimately provided the Church with the institutional and economic power to later become politically active in the politics of the imāra. See Hayek, "Maronite Rite," *N.C.E.*, IX (1967), 251, and Harik, *Politics and Change*, pp. 118-121.

[13] Albert Hourani, "The Fertile Crescent in the Eighteenth Century," in *A Vision of History: Near Eastern and Other Essays* (Beirut: Khayats, 1961), pp. 42-43.

[14] By the end of the eighteenth century, the Maronite clergy was the main economic force in the imāra. Monks and priests built monasteries, cultivated the land, and gathered the people about them wherever they went; they were, therfore, encouraged by feudal lords to settle in their lands. See Harik, *Politics and Change*, pp. 114-116 and 179-180.

[15] Among the reasons Maronites entered in and excelled in this office are: first, they were relatively more educated than Druzes; second, they could draw upon, or at least promise, assistance from the West; and third, they tended to prosper in the economic and agricultural sectors.

of the Christian[16] Ḥākim Bashīr II. Clearly, the Church was not unaware of the value of having Maronites as mudabbirs: as favors were extended by them to the Church, the Church made certain that their political patrons received support from the Maronite peasantry.[17] When two prominent mudabbirs—Shaykhs Jirjus and 'Abd al-Aḥad al-Bāz—exceeded their delegated authority, they were murdered and the privileges of the office of mudabbir circumscribed.

This extraordinary attempt in the early nineteenth century by the Maronite clergy to thrust itself into the politics of the imāra, encouraged by the brilliant young Patriarch Tiyyan (dates of office 1796-1808),[18] deserves emphasis. The temporary and subtle alliance of Ḥākim and Patriarch, by way of the mudabbir, further undermined the Druze muqāṭi'jīs by too closely associating the Maronite Shihābi Ḥākim with the Maronite Patriarch and his community. When the Shihābi Ḥākim later found himself in a political power struggle with the Druze Shaykh Bashīr Joumblatt, it was not surprising for the Ḥākim to find a natural and powerful ally in the Church.[19] Indeed, the great influence the Church had acquired was well demonstrated by Patriarch Ḥubaysh (dates of office 1823-1845) near the end of his patriarchy. As the central issue became who should have legitimate judicial authority over the people in the various *muqāṭa'as* (feudal districts), Patriarch Ḥubaysh issued a circular calling on Maronites living under Druze muqāṭi'jīs "to assume the judicial power traditionally held by [those] fiefholders."[20]

It is clear that the Maronite Patriarch, as the leader of a vigorous religious, economic, and social community, did not hesitate to undermine politically the Ḥākim's power and prestige by appealing to Maronite peasants to assert local Maronite leadership over the existing Druze leadership. This patriarchal action, which was occasioned

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[16] At some point in his reign, Bashīr II is believed to have converted to Christianity. He was described as one "who appears somewhat like the conscientious Druses, Maronite to-day and Turk tomorrow." William R. Polk, *The Opening of South Lebanon, 1788-1840: A Study of the Impact of the West on the Middle East* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 132.

[17] Harik, *Politics and Change*, p. 201.

[18] Patriarch Tiyyan was educated at the Maronite College in Rome.

[19] The occasion was the Mukhtāra Affair of 1825. See Harik, *Politics and Change*, pp. 222-228, and Salibi, *Modern History*, p. 27.

[20] Kerr, *Years of Feudalism*, pp. 4-5. The fall of Bashīr II in 1840 was the signal for Patriarch Hubaysh to initiate steps leading to the formation of a Maronite imāra. See Harik, *Politics and Change*, pp. 245-256.

by the chaos of the final collapse of the imāra's feudal (iqṭā') system,[21] was tantamount to open revolt against the legitimate and traditional authority. With the exile of Bashīr II in 1840 and the departure of his successor Bashīr III in 1842, security in Mt. Lebanon seriously deteriorated. The Patriarch had lost his most important political ally, and all holders of authority, whether Maronite or Druze, experienced a dangerous sense of drift as their traditional roles gradually ceased to exist.

The resolution of this state of affairs was the Dual District (*Qā'immaqāmiyya*), an attempt to apportion the northern half of Mt. Lebanon to the Maronites and the southern half to Druzes. Demographically, this was accomplished in the northern district; however, a significant minority of Maronites continued to dwell in the southern district. Importantly, fiscal authority in this system, formerly the preserve of the muqāṭi'jīs, was accorded to representative councils.

The net effect of the Qā'immaqāmiyya was a sectioning off of Druzes from Maronites, and in so doing, ascribing a physical and geographic form to the emerging communal basis[22] of activity in the imāra. When the Great Powers[23] added to this context their own varieties of aid to their respective clients, Druzes and Maronites became further antagonized and polarized. The situation was again complicated when in the last years of the Qā'immaqāmiyya (1854-1860), Maronite peasants began a revolt against their landlords in the area of Kisrawān.[24] Finally, as Druzes continued to experience continued assaults on their traditional, social, and political status in the affairs of Mt. Lebanon, and as they increasingly viewed their communal integrity and honor threatened from without, they responded by inflicting a systematic massacre on Maronites in the principal towns of Lebanon.

The Great Powers again intervened and imposed yet another arrangement on Mt. Lebanon known as the *Mutaṣarrifiyya*. Its basic governing document, the *Règlement Organique*, provided for

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[21] See Iliya F. Harik, "The Iqṭā' System in Lebanon: A Comparative Political View," *Middle East Journal*, XIX (1965), 405-421.

[22] See G. C. Hess and H. L. Bodman, "Confessionalism and Feudality in Lebanese Politics," *Middle East Journal*, VIII (1954), 10-26.

[23] William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Successors, 1801-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), pp. 122-123; Salibi, *Modern History*, pp. 40-53; and Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, p. 425.

[24] Salibi, *Modern History*, pp. 84-88, and Dominique Chevalier, "Aux Origines des Troubles Agraires Libanais en 1858," *Annales*, no. 1 (1959), pp. 36-64.

proportional representation of religious sects in a legislative council and in the judiciary. The governor (*mutaṣarrif*) could only be a non-Lebanese Ottoman Christian. Owing to the peculiar realities which characterized the Mutaṣarrifiyya, the Maronite Patriarch gradually acquired unprecedented stature and influence in the affairs of his people [25] and in the affairs of Mt. Lebanon. As the old feudal structure continued to crumble with increasingly disruptive consequences to the economic and social fabric of Mt. Lebanon, the Patriarch had emerged, particularly in the peasant revolts of 1858-1859, as the only legitimate and respected authority capable of redressing the situation. The Patriarch's evolution toward this status and role was clearly demonstrated in the letters and petitions addressed to him by Maronite peasants between 1858-1860.[26]

Although our information about the Mutaṣarrifiyya (1860-1918) is incomplete,[27] we do know that during this era three Patriarchs succeeded in consolidating and expanding Church influence. Having weathered the chaos and suffering of World War I, the last of these, Patriarch Ḥuwayyik (dates of office 1899-1931), emerged at the Versailles Peace Conference possessing the influence and prestige to:

> demand for Lebanon the absolute independence which she merits and to which she has a right, and to claim for Lebanon the restitution of her natural and historic frontiers which were mapped out by the French in 1862... and to confirm and continue more intimately than ever our relations with France.[28]

In the new State of Greater Lebanon, the Patriarch continued to address himself to a broad spectrum of social and political issues,

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[25] Atiya, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 408.

[26] The petitions were pleas for Patriarch Mas'ad (dates of office 1855-1890) to establish peace and security, procure new political leadership, provide for equitable tax collection, end corruption, guarantee representative government, and mediate disputes between shaykhs and peasants. See Kerr, *Years of Feudalism*, pp. 96-103.

[27] For two incisive articles on particular aspects of the Mutaṣarrifiyya, see John P. Spagnolo, "Constitutional Change in Mt. Lebanon: 1861-64," *Middle Eastern Studies*, VII, 1 (1971), 25-48, and *idem*, "French Influence in Syria Prior to World War I: The Functional Weakness of Imperialism," *Middle East Journal*, XXIII, 1 (1969), 45-62.

[28] K. T. Khairallah, *Le Problème du Levant: Les régions arabes libérées, Syrie, Irak, et Liban. Lettre ouverte à la Société des Nations* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1919), p. 75. Patriarch Ḥuwayyik successfully negotiated for the inclusion of the predominantly Muslim areas of Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, and Biqā' into Greater Lebanon.

but without the apparent force he had commanded in the last years of the Mutaṣarrifiyya.[29]

In the period of the Mandate beginning in 1920, it is interesting to note that a pattern of hostility appears between the Maronite Patriarchs and the various French High Commissioners.[30] This conflict also characterized a fundamental relationship with two Presidents of the republic, Bishāra al-Khūri and Kamīl Sham'ūn, following the proclamation of independence in 1941 and may be explained by the extent to which, during the Mutaṣarrifiyya, the Patriarch gradually accumulated influence in the temporal affairs of his community in Mt. Lebanon. When the Constitution of the State of Greater Lebanon was promulgated in 1926, the preeminent and *de jure* political actor for Mt. Lebanon was not the Patriarch, but the President. One may conclude that as the office of the presidency acquired increasing acceptance during the Mandate and the first decades of the republic, the Patriarch necessarily suffered a diminution of influence, particularly in the temporal area.

This institutional transition was soon to be accompanied by a reformulation of the basic principles which underpinned political activity in Lebanon. We recall that the discord in the Qā'immaqāmiyya, and in the early State of Greater Lebanon, bore witness to the reality that the communal principle lacked the explicit definition and the broad consensus to be effective or meaningful. By 1943 the need for a new and fundamental social and political accommodation among Lebanon's various religious sects, based upon accepted principle, was made apparent by the obvious and delicate sectarian balance which nearly all facets of activity in Lebanon reflected. Responding to this need, Riyāḍ al-Ṣulḥ (a Sunni Muslim) and Bishāra al-Khūri (a Maronite Christian) agreed to and implemented the *Mīthāq al-Waṭanī* (the National Pact). This gentlemen's agreement stipulated the basic guidelines for acceptable social and political activity in post-World War II Lebanon. Its key provisions were: first, that Christians would forgo the notion of an isolated Lebanon and accept it as

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[29] One significant reason for this diminution of patriarchal power was that the inclusion of the Muslim districts into the State of Greater Lebanon set the Muslim and Christian populations at parity and, at least mathematically, halved the popular basis of patriarchal support.

[30] See David Kerr, "The Temporal Authority of the Maronite Patriarchs: 1919-1939" (unpublished paper, St. Antony's College, Oxford University), and S. H. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon Under French Mandate* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 252.

sovereign and independent within the Arab world; second, Muslims, therefore, would give up the idea of returning to Syria those territories annexed to Lebanon in 1920; and third, Christians would reject the idea of foreign protection, while Muslims would cease those activities aimed at subjecting Lebanon to excessive Syrian and Arab world influences.[31] From a broad historical perspective, we see that the secular principle and its stabilizing function in the imāra has been reinstituted in the republic (albeit modified) in the Mīthāq al-Waṭanī.

Thus, we conclude this introductory section by noting the crystallization of various patterns which characterize patriarchal and social activity in the contemporary era: the first shows the Patriarch to be one of the principal actors in the general Lebanese political milieu; the second notes the Patriarch's inclination to be in conflict with the preeminent lay political actors; and the third demonstrates a persistent attempt to seek and establish those principles of social and political activity which produce accommodation and harmony among sects with varying ethnic and religious identities.

In the following section, I intend to analyze Patriarch Méouchy's political activities in the 1958 crisis and the uses of his diminished influence in the context of national uncertainty and instability.

Prelude to Crisis, 1955-1957

The three years prior to the 1958 crisis highlight the growing disenchantment between President Sham'ūn and the predominantly Muslim factions which opposed his policies. In this context, the patriarchy of Paul-Pierre Méouchy assumes importance because it demonstrates the measure to which the Maronite Patriarch could participate in the resolution of a national crisis and the extent to which non-Christian political groupings could appreciate and accept his leadership.

Paul-Pierre Méouchy was consecrated Patriarch of Antioch and all the East on May 30, 1955. His predecessor, Patriarch Antoine Arida (dates of office 1932-1955), had sent a letter just a month before his death to President Sham'ūn which set forth the official Maronite view of the appropriate policy for Lebanon.[32] He pointed to three

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[31] For a detailed discussion of the agreement and its origins, see Georg Dib, "The 'National Pact' of Lebanon: Translations from a Speech by Riadh Solh, October 1943," *Middle East Forum*, XXXIV, 1 (Jan., 1959), 6-7.

[32] The text of this letter is found in *al-Dayār*, 21/4/55.

cardinal considerations for the President: first, Lebanon's distinctive way of life was prescribed by historic, geographic, and spiritual circumstances; second, the President should not join any alliance;[33] and third, Lebanon should remain neutral. In general, the Patriarch adopted this broad policy. By early 1956, however, his own unique approach to current political issues began to take form. Unmistakably, it gravitated toward cooperation with Lebanon's Muslim neighbors and open recognition of and respect for the rising tide of Arab nationalism.

The success of this policy was well illustrated when the Patriarch visited the overwhelmingly Muslim quarter of Bāṣṭa in Beirut in mid-March of 1956. One newspaper carried the following account:

> The Patriarch was greeted by the local population and local dignitaries who expressed admiration for his nationalistic stand.... Posters were put up and arches of triumph erected. One poster said, "Basta welcomes the Patriarch of the Arabs—Basta welcomes the Patriarch of Lebanon." The cross and the crescent were hung in prominent places along the road symbolizing cooperation and friendship between Muslims and Christians in the national interest. Replying to the constant cheers, Patriarch Méouchy said: "How happy I am to meet with you, my dear kinsmen, and how happy I shall be to meet with you again and again on the plain of Arab nationalism! How beautiful this emblem, the emblem of the cross and the crescent, and how beautiful it is that you should put it up in celebration of the advent of the little Patriarch [Cheers]! We shall live together in this homeland! Either we shall all be free and masters of ourselves, or we shall live together degraded.... We shall hear but one note in our dear homeland, if God be willing, and that is the note of coexistence, love, and brotherhood. Long live Lebanon in cooperation with its neighbors and its dear brethren!" [34]

Patriarch Méouchy's views, however, were not unanimously held

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[33] This reference was to the Turkish-Iraqi Pact then being discussed. The Maronite Church was opposed to it on the basis that it might lead to a union with Syria and, by virtue of the union's Muslim majority, endanger Lebanon's sovereignty. Many people agreed with the Patriarch but suggested that he leave politics to the Maronite deputies and press. *Al-Nahār*, 21/4/55.

[34] *Al-Bayraq* (Maronite and pro-Government), 13/3/56.

by other members of the high clergy.[35] In the months to come, conflicting views within the Church were hardened by the momentous events in the summer and fall of 1956 which witnessed the United States's withdrawal of financial support for the Aswan High Dam Project, the Egyptian arms deal with the Soviet Union, the nationalization of the Suez Canal, and the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Suez.

In Lebanon, concern for the impact of these events produced the first rumors of reconciliation between former President Bishāra al-Khūri and President Sham'ūn.[36] The setting for the conference in which this matter was discussed was Bkerki (significantly, the Patriarch's winter residence), and in attendance were many of Lebanon's leading lay and religious leaders. The paramount challenge soon became how to consolidate national unity. Toward that objective, "it was left to the discretion of the Maronite Patriarch to think of the means of implementing the idea." [37]

Patriarch Méouchy further involved himself in politics. In early 1957 he entered into the controversy over electoral reform. The Patriarch maintained that a Parliament of eighty-eight (and not sixty-six as espoused by President Sham'ūn) was more representative and, therefore, he actively supported the larger Parliament.[38] The following month the Patriarch was being publicly applauded by both Muslims and Christians for his support of the eighty-eight-member Parliament.[39]

In March and April of 1957 two events took place which further alienated opposing factions: Lebanon accepted the Eisenhower Doctrine, and the United National Front (U.N.F.) was formally organized. The acceptance of the Doctrine had the effect of antagonizing the Muslim portion of the population; it appeared to be yet another agreement which more closely tied the government of Kamīl Sham'ūn to the West.[40] The response to this line of policy development was the formation of the U.N.F. Led by Saëb Salaam, Kamal Joumblatt, Hussein El-Oueyni, Abdallah Yafi, Nassim Majdalani, Sabri Hamadé, Kamal 'Assad, and Rachid Karamé, this bloc was

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[35] *Al-Amal* (organ of the Phalanges Libanaises), 5/9/55 and 11/9/55.

[36] *Al-Amal*, 25/11/56.

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Arab World* (Beirut), 15/1/57. In pursuit of even greater representation, Kamal Joumblatt promoted the idea of a 121-member Parliament.

[39] *Arab World*, 19/2/57.

[40] In 1954 Lebanon had accepted aid through the Point Four Program. In 1955 Lebanon adopted a United States investment guarantee program which granted the United States favored nation financial privileges. *L'Orient*, 18/5/55.

composed of diverse political elements including Najjdists, Communists, Ba'thists, and Constitutional Bloc supporters of Bishāra al-Khūri.

In effect, the opposing camps had drawn their battle lines, gathered their forces, and awaited the eventual clash. One of many fateful clashes occurred on May 30, 1957, when Saëb Salaam led a demonstration in Beirut against the government's acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine. Salaam was injured by an impetuous army officer and subsequently hospitalized. Patriarch Méouchy took this occasion to openly hold the government responsible for the injury and the insult to the prominent politician from the Bāṣṭa. The following week Salaam visited the Patriarch at Bkerki where his wounds were blessed and a key political association was formed.

This event marks the beginning of a fruitful association between the Patriarch and the leader of the Opposition. Subsequently, the Patriarch was seen as an adversary of the Government; this was reflected in the pro-government newspaper, *al-Bayraq*, which, henceforth, mentioned his activities less frequently. Indeed, pro-government journalists and presses could take little pride in reporting that on Lebanese Independence Day (November 22) the leaders of the Opposition paid their respects to Patriarch Méouchy—not President Sham'ūn—and that a Syrian delegation also went only to Bkerki and congratulated the Patriarch on his "patriotic acts in defense of Lebanon's Arab nationalism." [41]

As 1957 drew to a close, President Sham'ūn addressed himself to the issue which most deeply disturbed the Opposition—his possible reelection. Although he maintained that he was, in principle, opposed to it, he went on to say :

> I wish to leave no one in doubt [on the reelection issue]. If, when the proper time comes, I am not assured of finding a successor who will guarantee the continuation of my policies, I declare here and now that I shall reconsider my position [not to run].[42]

The two major causes most often attributed to the crisis are the indication that President Sham'ūn's policies deviated from the spirit of the Mīthāq al-Waṭanī and the widespread belief that, contrary to the Constitution, President Sham'ūn intended to succeed himself.

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[41] Qubain, *Crisis in Lebanon*, pp. 59-60. In the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies Kāmel al-Assaad (a Shī'ite Muslim) said, "There is no official authority that deserves to be congratulated for Independence other than the Maronite Patriarch." Agwani, *Lebanese Crisis*, p. 60.

[42] *L'Orient*, 31/12/57.

Beneath these generalizations lay a deep reservoir of discontent. Muslims had become increasingly dissatisfied with the inordinate measure of authority President Sham'ūn and other Christians had assumed for themselves. It was believed that corruption prevailed with little or ineffective opposition. It was also believed that the 1957 Parliamentary elections had been manipulated and influenced by large sums of money from the coffers of foreign embassies in Beirut. The result of those elections was that key members of the Opposition were excluded from the Parliament and from legitimate participation in the government. Ironically, this situation seemed to bring together normally dissident elements.

[*To be continued*]

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BOOK REVIEWS

Scholars, Sufis and Saints: Muslim Religious Institutions Since 1500. Edited by Nikki R. Keddie. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972. xi plus 401 pp. $ 20.00.

Gathered around the theme of Muslim religious institutions, this book deals primarily with the "religious leader." The first part discusses the role of the scholars, the 'ulama', while the second part deals with the Sufi, the popular religious leader, or holy man. Several of the papers were presented at a seminar on Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East, held at the University of California, Los Angeles, during the academic year 1968-1969. Other papers were solicited from authors who were at the time engaged in related research.

As the editor is well aware, the material in the book does not cover the whole Middle East, nor does it give equal time to all areas. It does, however, deal with different aspects of the social and political roles of the religious leader in different circumstances at different times in history. It ranges over four centuries and encompasses different parts of the Middle East, including the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Iran, the Sudan, and Pakistan.

These studies show the inadequacy of making glib generalizations about the role of the religious leaders in Muslim society. They point to the fluctuation and change in these roles, not only in different geographical areas but also within the same group of religious leaders over a period of time.

Several of the papers attempt to deal with the "survival" capacity of the 'ulama' whose position often appears to be jeopardized by a lack of institutional organization and the military or political power to enforce their opinions concerning the destiny of the *umma* and their judgments about the course of contemporary events. At times the 'ulama' seem to conspire with those in power to bring about change and at other times to withdraw to detached positions, relishing their role as arbiters of what is to be sought as good or condemned as evil and as interpreters of God's will for Muslim society. We see them more often than not apparently shunning the responsibility of giving concrete policy guidelines, at other times standing in judgment of those who have to make decisions. In most studies the religious leaders emerge as masters of the art of the possible, able to recoup their losses, willing to accommodate change as long as they are able to maintain their status and role in society.

The studies incorporated in the book are mostly anthropological and historical in approach. They treat the religious leaders as social beings but seem to ignore their ideological commitment. They either overlook or belie the possibility of the religious leaders' dedication to a cause beyond themselves, picturing them as individuals striving for self-assertion. Compromises of the 'ulama' with tyrannical powers tend to be viewed as weaknesses. This reader feels that despite

appearances it may be rather shortsighted to dismiss the motivations of these religious leaders as necessarily self-oriented, excluding the possibility of higher religious motivations.

Underlying several of the studies is the presupposition that the inability of the 'ulama' to deal with change and Westernization was related to the fact that the new societal structure tended to lower their status. Hence one might deduce that if the social role of the religious leaders is safeguarded by the modern state, they can become forces aiding in nation building (an assumption that appears to have been believed by 'Abd al-Nāṣir of Egypt and utilized by him as a force legitimizing his regime). It is suggested that it is the religious leader's inability to deal with the transformed present and the changing future that leads him to emphasize a return to the past, a past that is idealized as defined, stable, and one that would safeguard his position and status as interpreter of the will of God and the destiny of the nation, protecting it against forces from outside and secularists from within. Several of the selections note a vigorous and confident class of 'ulama' in Morocco and Iran where Westernization and modernization had a lesser effect on education and government.

The social background of the religious leaders is dealt with in several studies and notice is taken of the incidence of hereditary acquisition of the role of the religious leader in some areas. It appears, however, that in several of the "modernized" states at present there is a tendency for this role to be utilized as a means of upper mobility by the bright youths of the rural population. Since the army has tended to provide a similar avenue, it would have been worthwhile to have at least one of these studies attempt to examine the importance of this phenomena for the present or future of political and social change in the Middle East.

Another generalization commonly made by orientalists which can be challenged by the material in this volume is the distinction between the 'ulama' and the Sufis. Several studies note that members of one group tend to be members of the other at the same time. However, the function of the two varies. Whereas the 'ulama' have traditionally supervised the implementation of the law, administered the *awqāf* properties, offered moral exhortations or acted as a corrective agent of abusive political power (most of these functions are threatened by modernization), the Sufis studied were acting as reconciliation agents between competitive tribes, or in one case as medical agents relieving people of devil possession.

Of note is the work the Ferneas have contributed to this book on the role of women as religious leaders, a field in which very little research has been done to date. Also of particular interest are three papers that deal with the story of the martyrdom of Ḥusayn used in providing "redemption" for suffering women and as a parable to instigate the masses against what the 'ulama' view as the illegitimate 'un-Islamic' efforts of the ruler.

Ms. Keddie has brought together a wealth of information on the role of the religious leader as an Islamic institution. It is hoped that

in the near future other scholars will continue to research this important area of study.

The Hartford Seminary Foundation WADI Z. HADDAD

Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī": A Political Biography. By Nikki R. Keddie. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972. xvii plus 450 pp. $ 20.00.

In this biography of Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Professor Keddie provides us with a scholarly and thorough treatment, utilizing all available source material on the life of this controversial figure. She has consulted the French and British archives, al-Afghānī's books and papers and his obscure Persian writings. What she presents is a well-researched study and a comprehensive assessment of al-Afghānī the man, the reformer, and the peripatetic advocate of Islamic solidarity and identity as a means of withstanding incursion from the West.

Professor Keddie has garnered in this volume convincing evidence to support the 'Iranian' origin of al-Afghānī and to dismiss permanently his own claim to have been born in Afghanistan. He appears deliberately to have adopted this biographical falsification with the resulting assumption of the name al-Afghānī while in his youth as a means of gaining access to orthodox Sunni Muslims and in the hope of ascribing validity and legitimation of his teachings to Sunni audiences.

Acceptance of his Iranian origin and Shī'ī education also helps explain his advocacy of the use of reason and the reopening of philosophical inquiry to help the condition of Muslims of his time. Keddie also sees in these factors an explanation of al-Afghānī's "heterodox and seemingly inconsistent views of Islam," particularly in reference to his tendency to vary his approach and his methods according to the audience being addressed.

The advocacy of Iranian origin is part of the author's attempt to demythologize al-Afghānī, an effort that is consistent throughout the book. She seeks to identify the real al-Afghānī, to strip him not only of the image he tried to project of himself (as an important leader sought after by the various political rulers for consultation and advice concerning the welfare of the Muslim nations) but also of the biographies of his devoted students as well as the 'Egyptian' myth and cult that has grown up around his name. In her effort to arrive at the real man, Keddie at times ironically seems to present a person who is somewhat elusive by virtue of the wealth of information and abundant facts she has marshalled. In certain stretches the book becomes rather tedious because of a repetitious reworking of material, while the colorful and intriguing al-Afghānī comes through as a beleaguered man worried about his support and influence in political circles.

Contrary to popular interpretation, Keddie understands his influence on the Egyptian modernization effort to be insignificant; his achievements are scrutinized and seen finally as inconsequential to the

movement. In the last chapter, almost as an afterthought, she does allow for the influence of the cult of al-Afghānī on some Egyptian leaders. Whether or not al-Afghānī was as important during his lifetime as he and his immediate disciples appear to have believed is really of secondary importance to understanding the reform movement in Egypt. What is clear is that his influence continues to provide modern Islam with an instrument that is still being utilized as a defense against the West. Any assessment of his role as being marginal must be tempered by this reality, as well as by the fact that he continues to be claimed by most reformers as their mentor and that they continue to ascribe their theories to his school of thought as proof of legitimation and continuity.

In *An Islamic Response to Imperialism* (1968), Professor Keddie saw al-Afghānī as transforming the "religious faith into an ideology of political use." Although she attempts in the present volume to rectify that opinion, the reader can scarcely avoid finding an al-Afghānī who is enchanted by political power, scheming and conspiring, using Islam as a means of rallying Muslims for political ends. His life is treated as a series of plots in which he manages to achieve some relative success, only to lose favor and be forced to start anew with a different scheme. Al-Afghānī's emphasis on political activism must be seen as part of the tradition of Islam where there is no separation between religion and politics; in the opinion of this reader it is unnecessary to feel the need to separate these elements in al-Afghānī and by doing so negate the significance of his religious commitment.

Al-Afghānī did see in Islam the possibility of providing a buttress against the assaults of colonialists. In a real sense al-Afghānī must be seen as a reaction to the compromising efforts of Sayyid Ahmad Khan in India. His emphasis on political independence is essentially at the heart of the freedom of *dār al-Islām*, where the religion of God can be practiced without restrictions by the infidel. For him a reinterpreted Islam could provide not only a proud heritage to be utilized against the erosion of confidence in the faith, but also a plan of action for the future whereby a united Islamic people can together move into the modern world, reclaiming their ascendance and reestablishing the superiority of the religion of God.

The Hartford Seminary Foundation WADI Z. HADDAD

Kitāb Ikhtilāf Uṣūli'l-Madhāhib of Qāḍī Nu'mān b. Muḥammad. Edited with a critical introduction by S. T. Lokhandwalla. Simla : Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, 1972. ix plus 140 pp. (English); vii plus ii plus 262 pp. (Arabic). $ 15.00.

In the preface to his *Compendium of Fatimid Law* (Simla : Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, 1969, p. x), Professor Fyzee expresses the hope that some younger scholar would take up the study and publication of Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Ikhtilāf Uṣūl al-Madhāhib*. This wish has now been fulfilled in the book by Dr. Lokhandwalla. Qāḍī

al-Nu'mān was an outstanding Fatimid jurist and considered the greatest authority on law by the Musta'lian Ismailis. He entered the service of the first Fatimid caliph al-Madhi around 313/925. During the reign of the third and fourth Fatimid caliphs al-Nu'mān held first the judgeship of Tripoli and later that of the Fatimid capital Manṣūriya. When the Fatimids conquered Egypt and the seat of government was transferred to Cairo, Qāḍī al-Nu'mān was charged with *maẓālim* proceedings by the fourth caliph al-Mu'izz. According to Ismaili sources he died in 363/974. A very prolific writer, he was the author of about forty-six books. Dr. Lokhandwalla, in the introduction to his edition of the *Ikhtilāf*, after giving a brief sketch of al-Nu'mān's life and activities, catalogues al-Nu'mān's works on law and allied topics and his polemical works in the field of law, describing each one briefly.

Among al-Nu'mān's polemical works, the *Ikhtilāf* is outstanding. The existing copies of this book were actually written by al-Nu'mān's grandson 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān on the authority of his father who in turn related the work on the authority of his father the Qāḍī al-Nu'mān. All three men were ranking jurists in the Fatimid empire. According to the editor, the evidence that the *Ikhtilāf* was composed after 343/954 is that al-Nu'mān in that work reproduces the decree of the caliph al-Mu'izz appointing him as maẓālim judge. That decree was issued on the 28th Rabī' al-Awwal 343/30 September 954.

The *Ikhtilāf* was thus composed nearly 150 years after al-Shāfi'ī had written his famous *Risāla* which dealt for the first time systematically with the *uṣul al-fiqh*, the roots or sources of Islamic law. The importance of the *Ikhtilāf* lies in the fact that it gives us a picture of the stage of development of the sources of Islamic law around the middle of the fourth century of the Hijra. As the editor points out, relatively little space is devoted to Ismaili beliefs, but the Sunni theories on the sources of Islamic law are discussed and refuted in detail.

The Ismailis recognized only three fundamental sources of law: the Qur'ān, the sunna of the Prophet, and the creeds of the imams. The other Sunni sources, particularly *ijmā'* and *qiyās* were rejected. The imam was to the Ismailis an infallible guide and his powers were never circumscribed, at least in theory. In practice, of course, the political situation set certain limits to his power. The editor observes that following and obeying the imams implicitly was obviously no different from the *taqlīd* of the orthodox schools. Al-Nu'mān rejects this view. He apparently was aware that the Ismailis could be accused of having their own taqlīd, but he argued that whatever came from the imams remained within the framework of the Qur'ān and the sunna, whereas the Sunnis followed their predecessors according to their own predilections.

A number of important questions here touched upon are discussed by the editor in considerable detail in his introduction, giving also some significant excerpts from the *Ikhtilāf* in English translation. The content of the *Ikhtilāf* is surveyed in the introduction rather

briefly; more space is devoted to the discussion of specific points. However, Professor Fyzee has given a concise outline of the content of the *Ikhtilāf* in his "Shī'ī Legal Theories" (in Majid Khadduri and Herbert J. Liebesny, *Law in the Middle East*, Vol. I, Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Institute, 1955, pp. 124-127). The editor's introduction is followed by a bibliography of Ismaili works used or referred to and by an index. There is no bibliography of secondary works.

The text of the *Ikhtilāf* given here is based on a manuscript in the editor's possession. As he points out, Ismaili manuscripts are hard to come by. However, the editor has had an opportunity to compare his manuscript with two others, one which an eminent Ismaili scholar lent him for a few hours, the other owned by Professor Fyzee. Throughout the text variant readings from Professor Fyzee's manuscript are given in footnotes. The text is followed by five indices in Arabic dealing with verses of the Qur'ān and hadiths cited in the *Ikhtilāf*, with names of Islamic scholars, tribes and places, and some important books mentioned in the text.

Dr. Lokhandwalla's edition of al-Nu'mān's *Ikhtilāf* thus makes available to the scholarly world an extremely important work on sources on Islamic law which gives us an insight into the legal theories that existed in the middle of the fourth century of the Hijra. Because of al-Nu'mān's preoccupation with the refutation of Sunni legal theories, this is much more than a work devoted to the exposition of Ismaili beliefs. The introduction is very useful and presents a cogent picture of the work of al-Nu'mān, of the pertinent Ismaili legal theories, and of the arguments against the Sunnis presented in the *Ihktilāf*.

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Islam in Uganda: Islamisation Through a Centralised State in Pre-Colonial Africa. By Arye Oded. Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1974; New York: Halsted Press, 1974. x plus 381 pp. $ 23.50.

There is no doubt that Oded's book is the most comprehensive, most informative, and most well-documented piece of work ever to be published on Islam in Buganda during Mukabya Mutesa's reign. It gives an endless amount of information backed by concrete data which shows that the author put in a lot of hard work before writing the book. This is very impressive since the writer was working in a field where source materials are almost nonexistent. As the reader can discern, Mr. Oded had to depend on oral sources, informants scattered all over the country, as well as hundreds of pieces of widely diffused written material. It is also impressive to note that Oded consulted and indeed utilized local sources. The names of Kagwa, of Ham Mukasa, of Gomotoka, of Ssekimwanyi, of Ahmad Nsambu are

quoted at length in almost every chapter. His ability to compare the manner of Islamic penetration in Uganda with that of other parts of Africa, especially North and West Africa, at many stages shows how well informed he is on African Islam.

The book, an outgrowth of a Ph.D. thesis, is arranged in three parts, with four chapters in the first part, two in the second, and two in the last. A summary is contained in the conclusion to which is also attached a very short section on Islam in contemporary Uganda. A number of appendixes and a long bibliography that should be most useful to a researcher in this field are also included.

Arye Oded sets out to show how, under the umbrella of an African absolute monarchy, Islam penetrated into Buganda. He tries to show how the nature of a centrally based authoritarian institution can, because of the amount of political, economic and social power invested in it, transmit Islam—or indeed any other religion—to those under its authority. In some parts, he succeeds in doing so.

This leads me to a number of problems encountered in this book. First, although the title refers to Uganda and the reader expects that he will be reading about how Islam spread to *all* Uganda, the book is concerned only with *Buganda*, one of the four regions that make up Uganda. Second, Arye Oded does not weave the theme of his book thoroughly into the account he is giving so as to make all facts revolve around it. Instead, he describes it point by point, factor by factor, and only comes back to the basic theme either at the end, in the middle and/or maybe at the beginning (for example, on pages 12, 54, 72, 233-234), and in the conclusion. Of course, by implication the theme may be discerned in other parts of the book, but it should have been stated more clearly. Third, the writer does not clearly define the terms, 'penetration,' 'Islamisation,' 'adaption,' 'conversion to' or 'adaption of' Islam. Do all these terms as used in the text imply the same thing, or do they represent different stages in the process of the acceptance of Islam? Couldn't a different term be used for each stage? Moreover, it is a difficult book to read since it does not flow gently for an ordinary reader. It is broken by many headings, subheadings, and conclusions which are set apart instead of being included in the main bodies of chapters and paragraphs. In addition, there are too many citations, quotations, and footnotes that would tire the general reader. But for a researcher, this book should be ideal.

Like many other Western writers, Oded addresses himself to a Western and Christian audience with an implicit assumption that they do not know much about Africa and that Islam is the antithesis of Christianity. Thus, Chapters I and II in Part One and Chapter V in Part Two narrate at length the general history of this part of Africa which most people well acquainted with African history would find boring. Also, there is an implicit assumption that it is always the crescent which fights the cross and not vice-versa. Thus, although in Chapter VIII Oded shows very well that it was the missionaries who *first* attacked Islam and *planned* all the way along to oust the Muslims, the title of the chapter is "Islam Versus Christianity in

Buganda"! Islam, as Oded shows in this chapter, was never interested in ousting the Christians.

On the whole, however, the book is a good addition to our knowledge of the history of Islam in Africa and particularly East Africa, where much research in this topic is yet to be done.

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The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism. By William B. Quandt, Fuad Jaber, Ann Mosely Lesch. Berkeley, Calif. : University of California Press, 1973. 243 pp.

Twice in modern history "Palestinian nationalism has been a strong and dynamic factor in the Middle East, first in the decade of the 1920s and 1930s, then again in the 1960s, especially after the Arab-Israeli war of 1967." And yet, many observers have alleged that Palestinian nationalism did not exist prior to 1967.

This book precisely devotes an introductory section to "The Palestine Arab nationalist movement under the mandate." Written by Ann Mosely Lesch, it concentrates on these early years of Palestinian nationalism, tracing the development of political style from petition to protest (up to the late 1920s) and then to full-scale rebellion (by the early 1930s). This well-footnoted study sheds some light on the political problems of organization and leadership that contributed to the inability of the Palestinians to prevent the establishment of the State of Israel. There is no doubt that this section, which is based mostly on official documents, constitutes one of the most comprehensive studies of Palestinian nationalism under the mandate. But it would have had more relevance if it had provided more analysis than factual presentation, and if the author had access to more Arabic sources relative to that period.

Much more controversial is Part II, which deals with the "political and military dimensions of contemporary Palestinian nationalism." The author, William Quandt, had originally prepared this article for the Rand Corporation. He analyzes the internal developments after 1967 affecting the Palestinians, with particular emphasis on the growth of the guerrilla movement, on factionalism among the resistance movement, on the military strategy capabilities of the fedayeen, and on the "ambitious objectives" of the Palestinian nationalists.

Obviously the author is reluctant to admit the ultimate professed goal of the entire resistance—liberation of all of Palestine—and tends to suggest as a more realistic objective the creation of a Palestinian state carved out of only a portion of the old mandate (West Bank and Gaza), and in this case extended to include Transjordan. For Quandt, only realism makes accommodation between the state of Israel and the Arabs possible. He seems to be impressed by the Popular Democratic Front's recognition of Jewish national rights in a democratic Palestine, and in general by the contribution of the Resistance to the emergence of what he conceives of as positive,

modern, dynamic, secular and independent regional nationalisms superseding the *prevailing* popular pan-Arabism based on past Islamic greatness.

While the author provides in general an accurate analysis of events, his interpretation of Jordanian-Resistance relations and the causes of the September 1970 'civil' war is somehow misleading. It fails to give a precise idea about the true nature of the Jordanian regime and its relations with the Resistance movement as a whole.

Part III deals with "the Palestinian Resistance and inter-Arab politics." This article is certainly one of the best studies on this topic. For the author, Fuad Jaber, the fundamental conclusion to be drawn from the entire history of the Resistance and its relations with the Arab regimes is that the factor of dependence has been the main impediment to the growth of the movement into a military as well as political force able to pursue its goals with the possibility of success and that "the Palestinian national movement is likely to remain at the mercy of the dynamics of inter-Arab politics—as it has been since its inception—so long as it lacks a substantial degree of structural unity and ideological cohesion."

Our critical comments are not meant to minimize the book's importance. It certainly remains one of the most authoritative analyses on this bewildering subject. The authors provide a generally good analysis, free from polemics and partisanship.

Centre de Recherches sur le Monde Arabe Contemporain
Louvain, Belgium

BICHARA KHADER

Arab Politics in the Soviet Mirror. By Aryeh Yodfat. Jerusalem : Israel Universities Press, 1973. 331 pp.

This book, written while the author was a visiting Research Associate at the Shiloah Center, charts the U.S.S.R.'s evaluation of the Arab regimes, parties, and issues such as Arab socialism, nationalism, Arab unity and inter-Arab relations. The period to which it confines itself is from the time the Arab states in question emerged as independent entities after the Second World War up to and including the June 1967 war.

The originality of the book lies in the fact that the author collected, ordered, and presented the Soviet material providing one of our best documentations on Moscow's official thinking on Arab affairs. The presentation of views and facts without further comment adds to the credit of the author.

After a short chapter devoted to "The Third World in Soviet Perspective" (perhaps the weakest part of the book), the author deals with the Soviet views of Egypt up to the June war. Soviet accounts of pre-1952 Egypt described this country as being only "formally independent" but actually a British colony. The Soviet appraisal of the Egyptian regime after the 1952 coup d'état was

marked by hostility. The change in this Soviet appraisal from hostility to approval came in 1955, following the active Egyptian participation in the Bandung Conference and the Egyptian arms agreement with Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union was then especially concerned about that aspect of Egyptian foreign policy which had an anti-Western character. The Soviet-Egyptian relations were marked, in the early 1960s, by a certain mistrust and by Soviet resentment of Egypt's economic relations with Western powers. But after 1964, Soviet attitudes towards the U.A.R. underwent a revision : apparently, the internal reforms introduced in Egypt began to find favor with Moscow. The U.A.R. had come to be considered in Soviet publications as a country which had entered the noncapitalist road and was marching towards the building of socialism, serving as an example to other Arab countries and to all the Third World.

While diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Syria (Chapter 3) were established in July, 1944, the first Soviet-Syrian trade and payments agreement was concluded on November 18, 1955. Soviet comments on Syria up to the 1960s dealt with its anti-imperialist policy; less attention was paid to internal developments. Obviously, the Soviet Union did not look with favor on the merger of Syria with Egypt. On October 7, it hastened to recognize the separatist Syrian government headed by Ma'mun Kuzbari, who, in Soviet eyes, represented the "Syrian national bourgeoisie." The military coup of March 8, 1963, brought to power the Ba'th Party. The Soviet Union had taken a favorable view of the Ba'th Party in 1954-1956. That view changed, particularly after Syria's union with Egypt and the part played by the Ba'th in the persecution of Syrian communists. Only in the second half of 1964 was there a gradual rapprochement between the more left-oriented Syrian Ba'th leadership and the Soviet Union. This rapprochement culminated in the visit of a Syrian delegation headed by Salah Jadid to Moscow on January 20-26, 1967.

The Iraqi revolution of July 14, 1958 (Chapter 4) was welcomed in the Soviet Union as a great victory of the Arab National Liberation movement, which put an end to the Baghdad Pact and to Iraqi dependence on Britain. For the Soviet Union, "Iraq was embarking on a course of true independence, on a course of free democratic development." This, however, frightened the reactionary circles. From the middle of 1959 on, Soviet commentators wrote that the "Iraqi ruling elite started to move to the right" and began to suppress the democratic movement. In 1960-1962 relatively little was written in the Soviet Union about Iraq and its policies. The coup d'état of February 8, 1963, brought the Ba'th to power, an event which, according to the Soviet Union, marked the victory of the counter-revolutionary forces. But the Soviet view of the internal policies of Iraq became more favorable from the end of 1963, although critical comments concerning the Kurdish question continued to appear.

The initial Soviet attitude to Arab unity (Chapter 5) was marked by hostility. Up to 1958, Soviet commentators looked on the movement for Arab unity as a "tool of British or American imperialism." If the Soviet Union welcomed the formation of the U.A.R., it was not

because Moscow liked the move, but because of its anti-Western character and because the leadership was thought to be in the hands of "progressives." And if Moscow did not welcome Ba'th-sponsored proposals for a federation of Arab states in 1963, it was because the Ba'th parties that came to power in Syria and Iraq in that year were classified by the Soviet Union as "reactionaries."

During the June 1967 crisis, the Soviet Union supported the Arab point of view. But some Soviet commentators began, in the aftermath of the war, to attack those who considered "that it is possible to draw on the support of the socialist countries in combating imperialism and Israeli aggression, and at the same time wipe out the local Arab communists and ban the communist parties."

What is lacking in the book is an analytical conclusion. After recording Soviet attitudes toward the Middle Eastern states, parties and issues, a sort of personal reading of Soviet writings would have been of much interest to the reader.

Centre de Recherches sur le Monde Arabe Contemporain
Louvain, Belgium

BICHARA KHADER

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON

It is with deep regret that we note the death of Dr. Dwight M. Donaldson on May 11, 1976, in Lakeland, Florida. On the editorial board of *The Muslim World* since 1937, Dr. Donaldson contributed articles and book reviews for the journal and in many other ways made a significant contribution to the periodical's objectives. A future issue will contain a more detailed statement of his life and work.

CONFERENCES

Washington and Lee University Symposium, "Christian Faith in a Religiously Plural World." Representatives of Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, and the Hindu tradition responded to a Christian theologian's keynote address, "Christian Faith in a Religiously Plural World," at the symposium held April 22-24, 1976, on the campus of Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia. The address, delivered by Dr. Donald G. Dawe, professor of systematic theology at Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, was responded to by Fazlur Rahman of the University of Chicago, Eugene B. Borowitz of Hebrew Union College, Mahinda Palihawadana of the University of Sri Lanka, and K. L. Seshagiri Rao of the University of Virginia.

The symposium, sponsored jointly by the Department of Religion at Washington and Lee and the Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions, was supported by special funds of the University and from the Colgate Fund for the Study of the Great Religions of the World. The event drew nearly 125 registered participants as well as many persons from the general public.

Dr. John B. Carman, Director of the Center for the Study of World Religions, delivered a paper on "Religion as a Problem for Christian Theology," which was responded to by three Christian theologians, Gerald H. Anderson of the Overseas Ministries Study Center, Charles R. Price of Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, and Brother David F. K. Steindl-Rast of the Benedictine monastery in Elmira, New York. All conference participants had the opportunity to meet in smaller seminars on "Selected Questions for a Religiously Plural World."

Dr. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Dalhousie University, responded to the symposium as a whole with his closing address, "A Historian of Faith Reflects on What We Are Doing Here." The symposium

was marked throughout by seriousness of purpose and liveliness of question and response.

The Hartford Seminary Foundation J. JERMAIN BODINE

An International Philosophy Conference, hosted by the Philosophy Department of Baruch College of the City University of New York, was held from March 28 to April 4, 1976. Organized by Milton K. Munitz and Parviz Morewedge, and sponsored by the Institute for Philosophical Studies, the Society for the Study of Islamic Philosophy and Science, and the Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, the conference aimed "to bring about a dialogue between various philosophical traditions on topics of import to philosophical studies." Although the major foci were "existence" and "causation," a few papers dealt with the transmission of thought in the history of ancient and medieval philosophy. Of special interest to many readers of *The Muslim World*, among the many provocative titles, were papers under the general headings of: "Historical and Ontological Perspectives on Existence; Platonic Science," "Historical Perspectives on Existence and Causality," "Development of Theories of Moral Deliberation in Islam in Light of Western Ethics," "Historical and Normative Perspectives on Science and Philosophy," and "Studies in Jewish-Islamic, Chinese and Indian Philosophies." In attendance were scholars from many institutions in the United States and Canada as well as from overseas.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

The list of periodicals regularly surveyed is given in the January issue. Other issues show only new entries for the quarter. Whenever an entry from an annual is included, the full title is given.

New entry :

E.A. *Études Arabes*, Institute Pontifical d'Études Arabes, Roma.

I. *General and Miscellaneous. Manuscripts, libraries. History of Islamic Studies.*

3314 Bibliographie du dialogue Islamo-Chrétien : les auteurs et les œuvres du VIIe au Xe siècle compris. Robert Caspar et collaborateurs. *Islamochristiana*, Rome, I (1975), 125-181.

3315 Libanesische Miszellen, 6. Josef van Ess. *W.I.*, XVI, 1/4 (1975), 1-103.

3316 Pour une utilisation rationnelle de l'Encyclopédie de l'Islam. La Théologie Musulmane (suite). Michael L. Fitzgerald. *E.A.*, III/IV, 41 (1975), 52-55.

3317 Tables de concordance des ères Hégirienne et Chrétienne, de 1 H/622 chr. à 1400 H/1979 chr. *E.A.*, III/IV, 41 (1975), 75-81.

3318 Two Noteworthy Manuscripts of al-Biruni's al-Tafhim. S. Mahdi Gharavi. *I.C.*, XLIX (1975), 215-219.

II. *Pre-Islamic Arabia. Muḥammad. The Qur'ān. Ḥadīth.*

3319 Le Commentaire du Manâr à propos du verset coranique sur l'amitié des Musulmans pour les Chrétiens (5, 82). Maurice Borrmans. *Islamochristiana*, Rome, I (1975), 71-86.

III. *Religious Instruction. The Mosque. Religious Duties and Devotional Life. Ethics and Customs. Attitudes towards magic, etc. Sociology of Islam.*

See also nos. 3335, 3359, 3360.

3320 Changing Purdah System in Muslim Society. Musi Raza. *I.M.A.*, VI, 4 (1975), 40-56.

IV. *Theology. Movements, sects; Shī'a. Philosophy. Sciences.*

See also nos. 3316, 3318, 3350.

3321 Continuité et progression des études Tawḥīdiennes modernes de 1883 à 1965. Marc Bergé. *Ar.*, XXII (1975), 267-279.

3322 Deux grands maître : Al-Bîrûnî et Albert le Grand (essai de typologie comparative). Louis Gardet. *Islamochristiana*, Rome, I (1975), 25-40.

3323 L'histoire des religions en Islam. Ibn al-Kalbî et Rāzî. Guy Monnot. *R.H.R.*, CLXXXVII, 1 (1975), 23-34.

3324 Ibn Ṭufayl's Appraisal of His Predecessors and Their Influence on His Thought. Sami S. Hawi. *I.J.M.E.S.*, VII (1975), 89-121.

3325 Islamic and Non-Islamic Origins of Mu'tazilite Ethical Rationalism. George F. Hourani. *I.J.M.E.S.*, VII (1975), 59-87.

3326 Mu'tazilite Historiography : Maqdisî's Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rīkh. Tarif Khalidi. *J.N.E.S.*, XXXV, 1 (1976), 1-12.

3327 El pensamiento socio-religioso de Muṣṭafa Maḥmud. Abderrahman Cherif-Cherqui. *Almenara*, VII/VIII (1975), 39-78.

3328 Le renouveau et la stagnation dans la pensée religieuse contemporaine, II. Ḥasan Ḥanafî. Marc Chartier, tr. *E.A.*, III/IV, 41 (1975), 26-36.

3329 The Sources of Ismā'īlī Law. Wilferd Madelung. *J.N.E.S.*, XXXV, 1 (1976), 29-40.

V. *Sufism. Sufi Orders. Saints.*

3330 Feiern zum Gedenken an Maulānā Ǧālāluddīn Balḫi-Rūmī. Annemarie Schimmel. *W.I.*, XVI, 1/4 (1975), 229-231.

VI. *Law. Politics; state; government. Nationalism. Socialism. Economics.*

See also nos. 3329, 3356.

3331 Arab Nationalism and Islam. Josef Muzikář. *Ar.Or.*, XLIII (1975), 193-209.

3332 An Aspect of Muslim-Jewish Relations in Late Nineteenth-Century Morocco : A European Diplomatic View. *I.J.M.E.S.*, VII (1976), 3-19.

3333 Egypt's Ten Year Economic Plan : 1973-1982. Albert L. Gray. *M.E.J.*, XXX, 1 (1976), 36-48.

3334 Local Politics in Syria : Organization and Mobilization in Four Village Cases. Raymond A. Hinnebusch. *M.E.J.*, XXX, 1 (1976), 1-24.

3335 Reflexiones sobre arabismo y función social. Pedro Martinez Montavez. *Almenara*, VII/VIII (1975), 3-37.

3336 Unità araba e socialismo nell'idologia del ba'th siriano. Paolo Minganti. *O.M.*, LV (1975), 208-227.

VII. *Arabic and other relevant languages. Literature, culture, art. Education. Universities.*

3337 "Al-'Add 'ala l-Ḥadîd," nouvelle. Muḥammad 'Azîz Laḥbâbî. M. Borrmans, tr. *E.A.*, III/IV, 41 (1975), 67-74.

3338 El "Barnāmaǧ" de Muḥammad Ibn Yābir al-Wādî Āšî. Materiales para su estudio y edición crítica (II). Jose Ma. Forneas. *And.*, XXXIX (1974), 301-361. (See also no. 2929.)

3358 Secularism in India : The Key Issues. Ali Ashrat. *I.M.A.*, VI, 4 (1975), 22-39.

3359 Šefšawen (Xauen). Geschichte und Topographie einer marokkanischen Stadt, Teil II. W. Hoenerbach, J. Kolenda. *W.I.*, XVI, 1/4 (1975), 104-165.

3360 Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century : A Study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzurum. Ronald C. Jennings. *I.J.M.E.S.*, VII (1976), 21-57.

IX. *Islam and other religions, civilizations, philosophies and ideologies.*

See also nos. 3314, 3323, 3332, 3339, 3365, 3366, 3367.

3361 Dialogue Islamo-Chrétien : pour la recherche d'un langage commun. Ali Merad. *Islamochristiana*, Rome, I (1975), 1-10.

3362 L'entourage de l'Emir 'Abd al-Qâdir et le dialogue Islamo-Chrétien (extraits d'un ouvrage inédit). Henri Teissier. *Islamochristiana*, Rome, I (1975), 41-69.

3763 Feasibility of a Dialogue between Hinduism and Islam. Harsh Narain. *I.M.A.*, VI, 4 (1975), 57-85.

3364 Quelques réflexions sur la rencontre Islamo-Chrétienne de Tunis (11-17/11/1974). Abdelmajid Charfi. *Islamochristiana*, Rome, I (1975), 115-124.

X. *Christianity and Islam (from a Christian point of view). The Church in Muslim environments.*

See also nos. 3314, 3319, 3339, 3357, 3361, 3362, 3364.

3365 Cordoue, capitale califale du dialogue Islamo-Chrétien. Emilio Galindo Aguilar. *Islamochristiana*, Rome, I (1975), 103-113.

3366 Dialogue Islamo-Chrétien et sensibilités religieuses. Roger Arnaldez. *Islamochristiana*, Rome, I (1975), 11-23.

3367 The Involvement of the World Council of Churches in International and Regional Christian-Muslim Dialogues. John B. Taylor. *Islamochristiana*, Rome, I (1975), 97-102.

3368 The Secretariat for Non Christians is Ten Years Old. Michael L. Fitzgerald. *Islamochristiana*, Rome, I (1975), 87-95.

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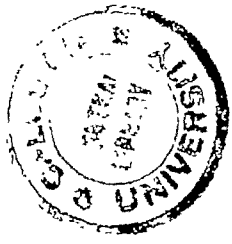
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EDITOR
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THE MUSLIM WORLD

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THE MARONITE PATRIARCH: AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF A RELIGIOUS *ZA'ĪM* IN THE 1958 LEBANESE CRISIS

Part II

On the Brink of Crisis: January-May, 1958

Events in the early months of 1958 heightened the sense of uncertainty and frustration in Lebanon. The Third Front [43] levelled attacks against the Sham'ūn Government,[44] and Egypt, it appeared, was arousing Muslim feeling by contributing $100,000 for the restoration of mosques in Lebanon.[45] In addition, as the Soviet penetration into the Middle East deepened, rumors abounded that the Greek Orthodox Church was aiding and abetting Soviet intrigue.[46] The commanding event of 1958, however, was the proclamation of the United Arab Republic (U.A.R.) on February 1. This union produced a tidal wave of excited expectation which, for the moment, was translated into the view that Arab unity was about to materialize in its idealized form.

In Lebanon, the impact of the U.A.R. proclamation sent tremors of anxiety and fear through the ranks of Sham'ūn's supporters and aroused more debate as to Lebanon's proper posture vis-à-vis the Arab world. At the same time, the Patriarch was attempting to communicate an open and cooperative spirit to Lebanon's neighbors in the U.A.R. President 'Abd al-Nāsir responded to the Patriarch's efforts by noting:

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[43] Led by Henri Farūn, Yūsuf Hitti, Muḥammed Shūqaīr, Youssef Salem, Gabriel Mūrr, and Ghassane Tueni, this group often attempted to serve as a mediating force between the Opposition and the Government.

[44] Qubain, *Crisis in Lebanon*, p. 66.

[45] *Al-Kifāḥ* (vigorously pro-U.A.R.), 27/1/58.

[46] *L'Orient*, 15/1/58.

> The stands taken by His Beatitude have profoundly moved us. We are acting under his guidance in the national field and we are prepared to support the national unity of Lebanon and to preserve her traditions and customs.[47]

This apparent flirtation with 'Abd al-Nāsir may be explained in part by three considerations. First, a Méouchy - 'Abd al-Nāsir coalition would make the Patriarch more powerful in his opposition to Sham'ūn. Second, the Patriarch would gain greater popularity in the Arab world as a friend of the nationalists. And third, the Patriarch could more effectively serve Lebanon's interests by establishing friendly relations with other Arab nations.[48]

This curious relationship between Méouchy and 'Abd al-Nāsir also produced fears which were publicly expressed in a long letter from Pierre Jumayyil (leader of the Phalanges Libanaises) addressed to Patriarch Méouchy. This letter, occupying nearly six full columns in the pro-Government daily *al-Bayraq*, cautiously referred to the celebrations surrounding the birth of the U.A.R. With seemingly deliberate hesitation, Jumayyil suggested that certain sinister persons had circulated rumors that Bkerki (i.e., the Patriarch) would acquiesce to the supporters of union for Lebanon. Jumayyil went on to say that he was

> convinced that Bkerki is the faith... the essence, the history, and the destiny in Lebanon today, as it was in the past. We have unbounded faith in the reality that Your Beatitude... is the first among Lebanese in your jealousy for Lebanese values, tradition, freedom, and independence.[49]

With this and more as prologue, the Patriarch was asked to

> deliver a decisive opinion on the attitude of Lebanon with respect to the projects for Arab unity [and this should be done] in order that Bkerki might remain, as it should, the shield of Lebanon,

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[47] *Beirut Massa* (Sunni Muslim and leading Opposition paper for the duration of the crisis), 26/2/58.

[48] House Speaker Adel Osseyrane to the author, Beirut, 11/6/70. Osseyrane became Sham'ūn's personal emissary to 'Abd al-Nāsir in 1958 and informed me that President 'Abd al-Nāsir "viewed the Patriarch as the likely person to oppose President Sham'ūn and sent Anwār Sadāt and 'Abdulhamid Ghaleb (Egypt's ambassador to Lebanon) to do the job."

[49] *Al-Bayraq*, 2/3/58.

> the fortress guarding her destiny, and the banner of her freedom and independence forever.[50]

The lofty rhetoric notwithstanding, a sense of uncertainty and indirection, particularly in Beirut and Tripoli, attended this plea. Indeed, amidst the excitement of the U.A.R. celebrations, the infiltration of men and arms from Syria increased, paramilitary organizations (Najjāda and Phalanges) increased their recruitment programs, and isolated bombing incidents occurred with ever more frequency.

In preparing his response, the Patriarch was undoubtedly aware of resistance to his activities from his own clergy and pressure from the U.A.R.[51] On March 4 Patriarch Méouchy made his formal reply to a delegation headed by Pierre Jumayyil. He prefaced his remarks by stating that Bkerki's position "is above party, political, or personal consideration." Then, addressing himself to the issues at hand, he said :

> We will not hide from you the fact that the internal situation in Lebanon causes us concern. We are concerned about the corruption in governmental departments. We are concerned about the confusion in security matters. We are concerned about sweeping and unrestrained materialism. We are concerned about the sanctioning of disrespect for the authorities and for the law. We are concerned about the violent conflict among parties. We are concerned about the deterioration of responsible dialogue and of legitimate differences of opinion to blatant and irresponsible personal behavior. We are concerned about the division in our ranks.
>
> ... we call on all Lebanese to coexist in friendship and resolve their differences [and to] cast off all hatreds and grudges... and to extend the hand of friendship in good faith to one another.... We call on Lebanese to work within the context of a new pact of national unity [and that is] the selfsame old pact [of national unity].[52]

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[50] *Ibid.*

[51] At this time it was rumored that the High Maronite Council had met and drafted a letter to Pope Pius XII protesting Méouchy's policies and activities (*Al-Bayraq*, 24-25/2/58). In a statement issued on March 3 President 'Abd al-Nāsir said that the U.A.R. would be "the best support for Lebanon and would always help the Arab people of Lebanon in their struggle under all circumstances." This was construed by some as a call to the Opposition to demonstrate against the Sham'ūn Government (*L'Orient*, 3/3/58).

[52] This is a reference to the Mīthāq al-Waṭanī.

> We believe unconditionally in the independence, sovereignty, and freedom of our Lebanon.... We believe that the existing cooperation between Lebanon and the West, on a basis of full equality and total respect, is of economic, social, and cultural benefit to Lebanon. We find nothing but good for the Arabs as a result of such cooperation.

Printed in double-size capital letters was the statement:

> We believe in a sovereign, independent, and free Lebanon, in the first place, as an end in itself. In the second place, Lebanon and its values can endure and be safeguarded only if it is independent. In the third place, we believe in a sovereign, free, and independent Lebanon because through its sovereignty, freedom, and independence it can be of greater service to the Arabs than if it were to relinquish that independence or cause it to be weakened.

Then, in triple-size capital letters:

> We shall not join any union and we shall not accept the weakening of Lebanon's sovereignty in any way.[53]

Throughout March and April the reelection of President Sham'ūn became the predominant issue as the broad conflict between the Government and the Opposition became more acute. Patriarch Méouchy again employed the medium of the press and made an articulate appeal for harmony between Muslims and Christians. "It is not possible in this tiny region," he maintained, "to separate our destiny from theirs [i.e., the Muslims of Lebanon and the Arab world]. If they do well, we shall do well; if they suffer hardships, we shall not be immune from those hardships."[54] Referring to letters recently received from Presidents 'Abd al-Nāsir and Qūwātlī, the Patriarch noted that they made but one request, that Lebanon "not be a haven for intrigues designed against them."[55] Finally, the Patriarch made his strongest statement on the reelection issue:

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[53] *Al-Amal*, 4/3/58.
[54] *L'Orient*, 9/3/58.
[55] *Ibid.*

> We warn against any thoughts of tampering with the Constitution.[56] If you have been misled by some [referring to Sham'ūn] into allowing your ambitions and desires to blind you, remember that tampering with the Constitution could have repercussions that you do not desire.[57]

The flurry of political activity in March also reflected a hardening of views between the Opposition and the Government. House Speaker Adel Osseyrane flew to Cairo allegedly to secure 'Abd al-Nāsir's support for a possible second term for Sham'ūn.[58] From the Opposition, eighty-two of its leading members issued a statement asserting that "the present national leaders intend to impair the destiny and the independence of Lebanon while in pursuit of their personal exploitation of the system."[59] Two days later, forty of the sixty-six deputies declared their support for President Sham'ūn.[60] This political maneuvering was climaxed in early April by the outbreak of riots in Tyre and reports that Sabri Hamadé and Kamal Joumblatt were preparing for armed rebellion.[61] The Opposition then acquired the firm support of the Grand Mufti Shaykh Muḥammed Alaya who declared: "It does not behoove any individual of the country to achieve his own purposes by departing from the Mīthāq al-Waṭanī and from the Constitution."[62] A week later the Grand Mufti decided that congratulations would not be paid to the Government on the *'Īd al-Aḍḥā* feast, and this was to be construed as a sign of mourning for the Government's policies. When Prime Minister Sami al-Solh did receive congratulations, explosives were thrown at his house.[63] The situation again worsened on April 10 when Maronite Deputy Georges Akl proposed an amendment to the Constitution making President Sham'ūn eligible for reelection.

Patriarch Méouchy gave a press interview on April 19 and again addressed himself to the issue of Sham'ūn's reelection. Speaking out against revision of the Constitution, he said:

> We do not consent in any way to the Constitution being reworded

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[56] This remark was directed to those who talked of amending the Constitution in order to provide a legal basis for Sham'ūn's reelection.

[57] *L'Orient*, 9/3/58.

[58] *Arab World*, 26/3/58.

[59] *Al-Hayāt*, 28/3/58.

[60] *L'Orient*, 30/3/58.

[61] *Ibid.*, 10/4/58.

[62] *Arab World*, 11/4/58.

[63] Qubain, *Crisis in Lebanon*, p. 67.

> or amended, especially in view of the fact that the motive behind this amendment is personal and no longer a secret to anyone.[64]

In response to persistent comment concerning his increasing activities in politics, the Patriarch later spoke about the nature of his high office and its relationship to politics :

> It hurts me to interfere in politics. I hate politics. But I am Lebanese before I am Patriarch. In addition, I am responsible for a large Lebanese sect. Therefore, I find it my duty to be concerned about everything that affects this [Maronite] sect.[65]

Then on May 8 the editor on the anti-Government daily *The Telegraph* was kidnapped and murdered. Thereafter, the crisis entered into a more violent and precarious phase.

The Crisis Proper

In the aftermatch of Nasib al-Metni's[66] death, barricades were erected in the streets of Beirut and Tripoli and strategic positions were seized by opposing factions. Saëb Salaam defined the crux of the conflict in his assertion that "the President of the Republic no longer speaks in the name of Lebanon. ... He does not in any way express the will of the people."[67] He went on to accuse the President of rigging the 1957 Parliamentary elections,[68] of bribery, and of terrorism; he

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[64] *Al-Jarīda*, 20/4/58.

[65] *Arab World*, 22/4/58.

[66] Nasib al-Metni was a Lebanese citizen born in Damascus in 1902. He founded the cultural weekly magazine, *The Telegraph*, in 1930, which in 1943 became the politicized *Beirut Telegraph*. Al-Metni was considered left-wing, but not a communist. In the mid-1950s he became a scathing critic of President Sham'ūn's policies. Ironically, the editorial on the morning of his assassination read: "Lebanon's interests [and] Lebanon's eternal independence make it essential for the individual [i.e., Sham'ūn] to sacrifice himself for the benefit of the whole" (*Arab World*, 9/5/58). On al-Metni's death, President Sham'ūn reflected : ".. on May 8th a venomous communist journalist was mysteriously assassinated." Camille Chamoun, *Crise au Moyen Orient* (Paris: Gaillimard, 1963), p. 399.

[67] *Arab World*, 23/5/58, and Desmond Stewart, *Turmoil in Lebanon* (London: Wingate, 1959), pp. 47-48.

[68] The results of the 1957 Parliamentary elections showed that President Sham'ūn's lists won 10/11 seats in Beirut; 18/20 in Mt. Lebanon; 6/10 in Biqa'; 6/11 in South Lebanon; and 8/14 in North Lebanon. See Hudson, *Precarious Republic*, p. 157.

maintained that the only solution to the problem was for the President to resign.

Toward the end of May the Patriarch further involved himself in the politics of the crisis. On May 26 a personal emissary of Prime Minister al-Solh visited the Patriarch at Bkerki. His objectives, reportedly, were twofold: first, to assure the Patriarch that the Constitution would not be amended; and second, to enlist the Patriarch's support for an enlarged Parliament.[69] The purpose of the latter proposal was to include in the Parliament key members of the Opposition and thereby place their political activities more directly within the legitimacy, conduct, as well as the purview of the Sham'ūn Government. Patriarch Méouchy declined the offer.

Tension again increased and the conflicting parties further polarized when the Government issued a decree which created a citizens' militia. As the evidence mounted, it became increasingly clear in some quarters that the militia was a cover for the Government's distribution of arms to those sympathetic to the Sham'unist position.[70] Patriarch Méouchy's condemnation of this development was swift and direct.

> What could be the meaning of such a decree... except the intention of introducing certain elements, whose objectives and policies are well known, into the service of a policy that the people have rejected, and to use terrorist means and probably political assassination against the opponents of that policy.[71]

The following day, May 27, a bi-religious delegation of deputies called upon the Patriarch to more forcefully intervene in the crisis.[72] The Patriarch was specifically requested to prevent President Sham'ūn from running for a second term. Indeed, amidst the talk of a second term for Sham'ūn and the clamor calling for his resignation, the question of future political leadership in Lebanon became crucial to the resolution of the crisis. There is evidence to suggest that Patriarch Méouchy momentarily convinced General of the Army Fu'ād Shihāb to seek and accept the Premiership;[73] subsequently, the General declined the

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[69] *Arab World*, 26/5/58.

[70] Qubain, *Crisis in Lebanon*, p. 135.

[71] *Arab World*, 27/5/58.

[72] *Al-Jarīda*, 28/5/58.

[73] Stewart, *Turmoil in Lebanon*, p. 72. In a private audience with Stewart (a ranking Maqāssid school inspector), the Patriarch is reported to have commented on the sectarian aspect of the crisis saying, "There has been bloodshed, perhaps twelve hundred killed, perhaps more. But the worst horror has been avoided. And you know whom I praise?

Patriarch's counsel. Nevertheless, in a public press interview, Patriarch Méouchy supported Shihāb as the only man capable of forming a Government in the current atmosphere of impending civil war.[74]

As the tempo of patriarchal activities in the crisis quickened, Méouchy's public image and his role in the crisis came into clearer focus. At this time members of the Opposition, the Third Force, and even those loyal to Sham'ūn, regarded the Patriarch as the most competent and respected personage capable of resolving the crisis. Indeed, it was speculated in the press that the favor the Patriarch enjoyed with the Opposition would enable him to impress upon them a middle-of-the-road solution.[75]

During June and the first half of July the crisis in Lebanon assumed an international dimension. On June 11 the United Nations Security Council unanimously voted to send a "watch-dog" team to seal off Lebanon's borders with the U.A.R. and thereby halt any infiltration of arms and men. The issue of infiltration [76] remained an extremely sensitive one as such reports tended to precipitate hostilities between Government and Opposition supporters. In an attempt to diminish this threat, the Patriarch, the Grand Mufti, and United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld publicly hastened to the view that there was no infiltration (even though evidence suggested the contrary) and that the crisis remained an internal affair.[77]

The crisis continued to escalate as armored cars, police stations, and strategic villages were attacked by Opposition forces. President Sham'ūn continued to view the crisis as being caused by several outside factors: (1) radio campaigns of hatred and incitement by the U.A.R., (2) smuggling of arms into Lebanon, (3) financial assistance for the Opposition from foreign embassies, and (4) the delivery of Egyptian passports to Lebanese citizens.[78]

Saeb Salam and the other Muslim leaders: it is their moderation and their control which have spared Lebanon the final disaster. But Chamoun has done all in his power to pour oil on the flames." *Idem*, p. 74.

[74] *L'Orient* and *al-Jarīda*, 30/5/58.

[75] *Al-Nahār*, 29/5/58.

[76] Sabri Hamadé, Saeb Salaam, 'Abdallah Yafi, Adnane al-Hakim, and 'Abdallah Machnouk requested and received from Egypt arms, ammunition, and money. See Miles Copeland, *Game of Nations* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), p. 197.

[77] United Nations Ambassador Karim Azkoul to the author, Beirut, 1/2/70. At the time, United Nations Observer teams confirmed limited infiltration. See *Al-Amal*, 20/6/58.

[78] *Arab World*, 26/6/58.

with the Patriarch, Murphy asked, " 'Your Beatitude, who is the man who can best solve the crisis? Whom do you support?' The Patriarch replied, 'There is only one man who really knows the Arab world and who especially knows how to handle 'Abd al-Nāsir—Bishāra al-Khūri.' Murphy said that he was 'too old and had a bad reputation.' The Patriarch then conceded that Fu'ād Shihāb was his choice."[80]

A major step toward the resolution of the crisis was taken on July 31 when General Fu'ād Shihāb [81] was elected President by the Parliament on the second ballot. Within a week of his election, President-elect Shihāb advocated a five-point program which called for: first, national unity based on the 1943 Mīthāq al-Waṭanī; second, withdrawal of American troops; third, brotherly relations with the Arab states; fourth, friendly relations with all other nations; and fifth, a greater sense of responsibility, honesty, and scientific approach to problems of government and administration.[82]

During the following three weeks the issue which received considerable attention was the ideological status Lebanon would assume as she slowly emerged from the crisis. This issue belied the historic debate over Lebanon's relationship with the Arab world and with the West. The primary alternatives were "internationalization" and "neutralization." The former implied the presence of a United Nations or other foreign force stationed in Lebanon to preserve peace and security, while the latter implied a "Swiss-styled" neutrality. As the debate sharpened, Patriarch Méouchy came forth with one of the clearest statements on the issue. Speaking in the name of Lebanon he said, "We all ... demand neutrality ...; however, the only form [of neutrality] we would accept is that which is freely decided upon by Lebanon in agreement with the Arab states."[83] The Patriarch absolutely ruled out the possibility of accepting any form of internationalization which he equated to the acceptance of a collective mandate. Acceptable neutrality, he continued, would

make provisions for two exceptions: the first with respect to

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[80] This episode was related to me by a member of a ranking notable family who wishes to remain anonymous. In 1958 a member of his family was in the upper echelons of the Church hierarchy.

[81] Fu'ād Shihāb was born in 1902 in the village of Ghazīr. He was educated at the School of the Frères Marists in Jūnīh, Lebanon, and attended the Damascus Military Academy. After taking special military courses at St. Maxen, Chalons, and Versailles, he joined the Paris Ecole Supérieure de Guerre in 1938. He died on April 25, 1973.

[82] *Arab World*, 5/8/58.

[83] *Beirut Massa*, 20/8/58.

again broke out in Beirut.[89] Loyalists and Phalanges militantly promised more violence if the cabinet crisis were not quickly resolved and an acceptable cabinet chosen.

The breakthrough came on October 11 when Premier Rashid Karamé agreed to include in the cabinet supporters of former President Sham'ūn. Three days later he announced his new four-man "no victor no vanquished" cabinet which, in addition to himself, included Hussein El-Oueyni, Pierre Jumayyil, and Raymond Edde. This cabinet satisfied the demands of both the Loyalists and the Opposition. Almost immediately shops opened for business, curfews were relaxed, and life slowly returned to normal. On October 17 Parliament gave the new cabinet a unanimous vote of confidence. With the complete acceptance of the new cabinet, the immediate crisis was concluded. Within a week the last of 16,000 American troops embarked from Beirut and by mid-November the United Nations Emergency Forces had left Lebanon.

As Lebanon continued to emerge from the crisis, Patriarch Méouchy gave his final press interview of the year. He reiterated the point that the U.A.R. was neither a threat to Lebanon nor to Christianity and recalled the promises of President 'Abd al-Nāsir not to interfere in Lebanon's internal affairs.[90] He expressed his pleasure over the new cabinet and asserted that without it Lebanon would have suffered untold miseries. Finally, in reference to Sham'ūn, the Patriarch revealed a lingering enmity. He maintained that if there were sufficient cause, the matter of prosecuting the former President should be investigated.[91]

Conclusion

We have seen that from the eighteenth century onward the Patriarch became an increasingly important political actor in the politics of Mt. Lebanon, his role at Versailles in 1919 representing the pinnacle of his influence in the temporal area. This role was at first facilitated and then diminished by dramatic transformations in the diplomatic, political, and social structures in Lebanon and the Middle East. We recall that in 1919 the Patriarch had advanced a plan for an enlarged state of Lebanon which was supported by the single, most populous, and enlightened community in Lebanon. With distinct social, economic,

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[89] *Middle East Journal*, "Chronology," XII, 1 (1958), 87.

[90] *Beirut Massa*, 27/10/58.

[91] The Patriarch and the former President have since been fully reconciled.

and political interests clearly affiliated with the Church and its continued survival, we discover an historic conflict between the Patriarch and the preeminent political actor of the area, whether he be the mutaṣarrif, various French high commissioners, or, most notably in 1958, the president of the republic.

We are thus drawn to the fundamental difference in the policies of nineteenth and early twentieth century patriarchs and the policy of Patriarch Méouchy. The primary objective of the former was to ascribe a social and political meaning to Maronite participation in the affairs of Mt. Lebanon; the primary objective of the latter was to maintain and safeguard the social, economic, and political advances, in the context of the new state, which had evolved in the previous century. It is in this fundamental dichotomy of aims that we observe —in the 1958 crisis—the application of the lesson of the 1859-1860 massacres, which is to say, that the excessive uses of influence and power by one sect necessarily incur the open and violent hostility of another.

Under the stewardship of President Sham'ūn, the Government of Lebanon became too closely allied with the West prior to and during the early phases of the crisis. The Parliamentary elections of 1957 had excluded key Opposition leaders from legitimate participation in the political process and thereby left the streets as their only practical alternative for redress. In this context, the Patriarch's activities were guided by the historically derived formula that the security of the Maronite sect in Lebanon was contingent upon harmonious relations—based upon the Mīthāq al-Waṭanī—among all of Lebanon's religious sects. Conditioned by the Maronite recollection of the past, Patriarch Méouchy calculated his actions to diminish and neutralize the sectarian character of the crisis. Toward this end the Patriarch departed from traditional Maronite views and publicly acclaimed the rising Arab nationalism and thereby fostered a credible counterweight to the inordinate pro-Western posture of the Government. Patriarch Méouchy openly embraced and frequently defined issues of paramount concern to the Opposition: closer cooperation with Lebanon's Arab neighbors, the enlarged Parliament, the reelection of President Sham'ūn, and the Government's citizen militia. With the Patriarch's support for Shihāb, his forceful advocacy of Lebanon's neutrality, and his full endorsement of the new cabinet, the Patriarch further endeared himself to the predominantly Muslim Opposition. Indeed, his participation added great prestige and respectability to the Opposition and, at least symbolically, allied the Maronites and other Christians of Lebanon with the Muslim Opposition

against the Maronite President. This was contrasted with a considerable loss of credibility and legitimacy suffered by Sham'ūn and his Government.

There is little doubt that the Patriarch's efforts at sectarian tension-managing were crucial in preventing a catastrophe of the magnitude of 1859-1860. In the crises in Lebanon since 1958, most notably 1969 and 1973, we may expect and discover that the Patriarch has again played a critical role in the amelioration of explosive tensions. Ironically, it is a crisis situation which precipitates this extraordinary patriarchal role.

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A LIST OF THE APPELLATIONS OF THE PROPHET MUḤAMMAD

Among the varied contents of Leeds Arabic MS 12 is a list of two hundred and one names [1] or appellations of the Prophet Muḥammad (fols. 75v-78r). Such lists are rare in Islamic literature,[2] as a consequence perhaps of a fear that to make such a list would be to form a collection of names inviting comparison with the ninety-nine names of God (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*).[3]

The Leeds Arabic MS 12 [4] has eighty-three folios, and contains six works of varying length, all concerned with religious topics, including a poem in praise of the month of Sha'bān and the Ḥanafī work *Nūr al-Īḍāḥ wa Najāt al-Arwāḥ* by Ḥasan al-Shurunbulālī al-Wafā'ī (died A.H. 1069).

The copyist, and probably compiler, of this list of appellations of the Prophet, was Zayn al-Dīn Rāfi' 'Afīf al-Dīn, according to the colophon on fol. 78r. The names are grouped in the list sometimes according to root, and sometimes according to meaning. Most of them are Qur'anic.

We give here the list in its entirety, in transliterated form, with translation of the names in parentheses where appropriate.

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[1] The list actually contains 202 items, because the writer has by an oversight included the name *Nāṣir* twice.

[2] The only surviving work dealing with this subject appears to be Abū 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf al-Nabhānī's *Al-Asmā' fīmā li Sayyidinā Muḥammad min al-Asmā'* (included in his *Al-Majmū'a al-Nabhāniyya fī al-Madā'iḥ al-Nabawiyya* (Beirut, A.H. 1320). Al-Nabhānī was a Palestinian who became President of the Court of Justice in Beirut. Since he was born in 1849, it is clear that his works must have been written at a date substantially later than the present compilation, which is dated A.H. 1268 (A.D. 1851). See C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. II (Leiden, 1938), 763; Y. I. Sarkis, *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt al-'Arabiyya wa'l-Mu'arraba* (Cairo, 1928), col. 1838. The incomplete Leeds Arabic MS 302 once contained a list of 201 names of the Prophet, as is shown by the heading on what is now the last folio of the MS. See R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young, "Some Maghribī Manuscripts in the Leeds University Collection," in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, XXI (1976).

[3] The present list would seem to confirm this fear by citing several epithets as appellations of Muḥammad which more properly belong to God, e.g., *Jabbār* and *Ḥaqq* (the only difference being that these take the definite article when referring to the Deity).

[4] A brief description of the main contents of this MS is given by J. Macdonald, in his *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, I (Leeds, 1958), 12-13.

These are the names of the Chosen One, may God bless him and give him peace. They number two hundred and one.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful: *Muḥammad* (Highly Praised), *Aḥmad* (More Laudable), *Ḥāmid* (Praiser), *Maḥmūd* (Praised), *Aḥīd* (Unique), *Waḥīd* (Matchless), *Māḥī* (Effacer), *Ḥāshir* (Convener), *'Āqib* (Successor), *Ṭaha*, *Yā Sīn*, *Ṭāhir* (Pure), *Muṭahhar* (Purified), *Ṭayyib* (Good), *Sayyid* (Lord), *Rasūl* (Apostle), *Nabī* (Prophet), *Rasūl al-Raḥma* (Apostle of Mercy), *Qayyim* (Precious), *Jāmi'* (Gatherer), *Mushtafī* (Avenger), *Mushfā* (Healed), *Rasūl al-Malāḥim* (Apostle of Battles), *Rasūl al-Rāḥa* (Apostle of Rest), *Kāmil* (Perfect), *Iklīl* (Crown), *Mudabbir* (Disposer), *Mudammil* (Healer), *'Abd Allāh* (Servant of God), *Ḥabīb Allāh* (Beloved of God), *Ṣafī Allāh* (Sincere Friend of God), *Najī Allāh* (Confidant of God), *Kalīm Allāh* (Spokesman of God), *Khātam al-Anbiyā'* (Seal of the Prophets), *Khātam al-Rusul* (Seal of the Apostles), *Muḥyī* (Reviver), *Munajjī* (Deliverer), *Mudhakkir* (Reminder), *Nāṣir* (Victorious), *Manṣūr* (Rendered Victorious), *Nabī al-Raḥma* (Prophet of Mercy), *Nabī al-Tawba* (Prophet of Repentance), *Ḥarīṣ 'Alaykum* (Zealous for You), *Ma'lūm* (Known), *Shahīr* (Famous), *Shāhid* (Witness), *Shahīd* (Martyr), *Mashhūd* (Witnessed). *Bashīr* (Messenger), *Mubashshir* (Proclaimer of Good News), *Nadhīr* (Warner), *Mundhir* (Cautioner), *Nūr* (Light), *Sirāj* (Lamp), *Miṣbāḥ* (Luminary), *Hudā* (Guidance), *Muhdī* (Guide), *Munīr* (Illuminator), *Dā'ī* (Summoner), *Mad'uuw* (Summoned), *Mujīb* (Answerer), *Mujāb* (Answered), *Ḥafiyy* (Welcomer), *'Afuuw* (Forgiving), *Walī* (Friend), *Ḥaqq* (Truth), *Qawiyy* (Strong), *Amīn* (Trustworthy), *Ma'mūn* (Reliable), *Karīm* (Generous), *Mukarram* (Honored), *Makīn* (Strong), *Matīn* (Firm), *Mubīn* (clear), *Mu'ammal Wuṣūl* (Hoped-for Consummation), *Dhū Quuwa* (Possessor of Strength), *Dhū Ḥurma* (Possessor of Sanctity), *Dhū Makāna* (Possessor of Status), *Dhū 'Izz* (Possessor of Might), *Dhū Ra'fa* (Possessor of Mercy), *Dhū Faḍl* (Possessor of Merit), *Muṭā'* (Obeyed), *Muṭī'* (Obeying), *Qadam Ṣidq* (Foot of Truth), *Raḥma* (Mercy), *Bushrā* (Good News), *Ghawth* (Aid), *Ghayth* (Help), *Ghiyāth* (Succor), *Ni'mat Allāh* (Grace of God), *Hadiyyat Allāh* (Gift of God), *'Urwa Wuthqā* (Trusty Knot), *Ṣirāṭ Allāh* (Path of God), *Ṣirāṭ Mustaqīm* (Straight Path), *Dhikr Allāh* (Mention of God), *Sayf Allāh* (Sword of God), *Ḥizb Allāh* (Band of God), *Al-Najm al-Thāqib* (The Brilliant Star), *Muṣṭafā* (Chosen), *Mujtabā* (Elect), *Muntaqā* (Select), *Ummī Mukhtār* (The Chosen Illiterate One), *Ajīr* (Hired), *Jabbār* (Mighty), *Mujīr* (Protector), *Abū 'l-Qāsim*, *Abū 'l-Ṭāhir*, *Abū 'l-Ṭayyib*, *Abū Ibrāhīm*, *Mushaffa'* (Appointed Intercessor), *Shafī'* (Intercessor), *Ṣāliḥ* (Good), *Muṣliḥ* (Reformer), *Muhaymin* (Guardian), *Ṣādiq* (Veracious), *Muṣad-*

daq (Trustworthy), *Ṣidq* (Truth), *Sayyid al-Mursalīn* (Lord of the Apostles), *Imām al-Muttaqīn* (Leader of the Pious), *Qā'id al-Ghurr al-Muḥajjalīn*[5] (Leader of the Radiant), *Khalīl al-Raḥmān* (Friend of the Merciful), *Barr* (Pious), *Mubarr* (Rendered Innocent), *Wajīh* (Eminent), *Naṣīḥ* (Sincere), *Nāṣiḥ* (Sincere Adviser), *Nāṣir*,[6] *Wakīl* (Deputy), *Mutawakkil* (Responsible), *Kafīl* (Sponsor), *Shafīq* (Solicitous), *Muqīm al-Sunna* (Establisher of the *Sunna*), *Muqaddas* (Sanctified), *Rūḥ al-Qudus* (Spirit of Sanctity), *Rūḥ al-Ḥaqq* (Spirit of Truth), *Rūḥ al-Qisṭ* (Spirit of Justice), *Kāfī* (Sufficient), *Muktafī* (Contented), *Bāligh* (Profound), *Muballigh* (Messenger), *Shāfī* (Healer), *Wāṣil* (Uniter), *Mawṣūl* (United), *Sābiq* (Preceder), *Sā'iq* (Pastor), *Hādī* (Guide), *Mahdī* (Guided), *Muqaddam* (Placed in Front), *'Azīz* (Mighty), *Fāḍil* (Excellent), *Mufaḍḍal* (Preferred), *Fātiḥ* (Conqueror), *Miftāḥ al-Raḥma* (Key of Mercy), *Miftāḥ al-Janna* (Key of Paradise), *'Alam al-Īmām* (Token of Faith), *'Alam al-Yaqīn* (Token of Certainty), *Dalīl al-Khayrāt* (Guide to Good Things), *Musaḥḥiḥ al-Ḥasanāt* (Certifier of Good Deeds), *Muqīl al-'Atharāt* (Remover of Obstacles), *Ṣafūḥ'ani 'l-Dhallāt* (Forgiver of Depravities), *Ṣāḥib al-Shafā'a* (Having Power of Intercession), *Ṣāḥib al-Maqām* (Possessor of Rank), *Ṣāḥib al-Qidam* (Possessed of Infinite Pre-existence), *Makhṣūṣ bi'l-'Izz* (Singled Out for Power), *Makhṣūṣ bi'l-Majd* (Singled Out for Glory), *Makhṣūṣ bi'l-Sharaf* (Singled Out for Honor), *Ṣāḥib al-Wasīla* (Possessed of Resource), *Ṣāḥib al-Sayf* (Master of the Sword), *Ṣāḥib al-Faḍīla* (Possessed of Virtue), *Ṣāḥib al-Izār* (Possessed of Support), *Ṣāḥib al-Ḥujja* (Possessed of the Proof), *Ṣāḥib al-Sulṭān* (Possessed of Authority), *Ṣāḥib al-Ridā'* (Master of the Robe), *Ṣāḥib al-Daraja al-Rafī'a* (Possessed of Exalted Status), *Ṣāḥib al-Tāj* (Possessor of the Crown), *Ṣāḥib al-Mighfar* (Master of the Helmet), *Ṣāḥib al-Liwā'* (Possessor of the Banner), *Ṣāḥib al-Mi'rāj* (The One Who Made the Heavenly Journey), *Ṣāḥib al-Qaḍīb* (Master of the Rod), *Ṣāḥib al-Burāq* (Rider on the *Burāq*), *Ṣāḥib al-Khātam* (Master of the Seal), *Ṣāḥib al-'Alāma* (Master of the Sign), *Ṣāḥib al-Burhān* (Possessor of the Proof), *Ṣāḥib al-Bayān* (Possessed of the Declaration), *Fāṣiḥ al-Lisān* (Eloquent of Tongue), *Muṭahhar al-Janān* (Purified of Soul), *Ra'ūf* (Compassionate), *Raḥīm* (Merciful), *Udhn Khayr* (Ear of Goodness), *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Islām* (The True One of Islam), *Sayyid al-Kawnayn* (Lord of the Two Existences), *'Ayn al-Na'īm* (Source of Felicity), *'Ayn al-'Izz* (Source of Might), *Sa'd Allāh* (Felicity of God), *Sa'd al-Khalq* (Felicity of the Creation), *Khaṭīb al-Umam* (Preacher to the

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[5] Lit. "Leader of the Blaze of the White-footed."

[6] N.B. This name is repeated here in error.

ON THE ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE: A THEORY OF LEARNING IN THE *RASĀ'IL IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ'* *

As recent studies shed more light on the identity and role of the figures behind the secretive philosophico-religious coterie known as *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, we are being made more aware that some our presuppositions concerning the composition and aims of their *Rasā'il* need to be revised.[1]

Perhaps among the most striking elements in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* is not that it is just an encyclopaedic work putting together the existing sciences of the day, but rather that the whole work mirrors a far-ranging and comprehensive program that gives the *Rasā'il* their sense of unity and purpose, holding all the variegated treatises together. There is enough external and internal evidence to suggest that the *Rasā'il* were written because the Ikhwān were profoundly dissatisfied with the mode of Islamic life current at the time and were intended to educate the public.[2] This program of reconstruction, if one might call it that, can be viewed at three levels. At the first, the educational level, the Ikhwān hoped to introduce ideas culled from every available source that had anything meaningful and useful to aid the cause of acquiring knowledge. At the second level, the individual would make use of this knowledge to "know himself" and his place and role on earth and in the universe. The third level, implied in the

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[1] For a summation of the problem of Ikhwān's identity and the role of the *Rasā'il*, see Y. Marquet, "Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Ed., III, 1071 ff. The article also outlines the general content of the *Rasā'il* and contains a bibliography of works written on the subject. See also A. Tibawi, "Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā and their *Rasā'il*. A Critical Review of a Century and a Half of Research," *Islamic Quarterly*, II (1955), 28-46, and S. H. Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 25-30, where he surveys the problem of the Ikhwān's identity in previous studies.

[2] *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* (in four volumes), ed. by Khayr al-Dīn Zirkilī (Cairo, 1928), IV, 173-174, contains a stinging rebuke of the way the existing rule came about and its functioning. The well-known Mu'tazilī 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, though a staunch contemporary antagonist of the Ikhwān, also attests to this fact. See S. M. Stern, "New Information about the Authors of the 'Epistles of the Sincere Brethren,'" *Islamic Studies*, III (1964), 413, where he refers to al-Hamadhānī's remark.

two above, aimed at creating a suitable society, where there would be no oppression and in which every individual would have the opportunity to act according to that knowledge and therefore attain felicity in this world and the hereafter.[3] The common thread that runs through this whole discussion is the instrument by which the reconstruction at all three levels can be achieved, namely, by the acquisition of the right kind of learning.

Here, we shall be concerned with one aspect of this theory of learning and how it fits into the overall pedagogical pattern that the Ikhwān develop. Below is offered a translation of one important section which provides a scheme through the use of a parable.[4] It is followed by an analysis that seeks to extend the meaning of the parable to focus on how the Ikhwān are able to develop their pedagogical conception into a broad vision of man and his relation to the universe and the absolute.

Translation

It has been related that there was a wise and noble king with children who were very dear to him and whom he venerated greatly.

He wished to educate, refine, and train them, in order that they might become competent before reaching his Court; because none, except for those refined by good breeding, trained in the sciences, molded by good morals, and free from imperfections, is suited for the Court of kings.

He deemed it wise that he should erect for them a palace—among the most solid that had ever been built. Then he assigned to each a *majlis* [5] and wrote on its walls every science that he wished to teach them. He portrayed in the majlis everything in which he wished them to be instructed. Then he settled them in the palace, seating each one according to the share allotted to him, and entrusted them with servants and slaves of both sexes. He then said to these children:

"Observe what I have portrayed before you, read what I have written there for your sake, ponder upon what I have expounded

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[3] *Rasā'il*, IV, 218, where they state this purpose.

[4] The passage is in the twenty-sixth epistle, *Rasā'il*, III, 6-8.

[5] Rather than use any of the modern equivalents such as "class," "school," etc. I have left untranslated the word *majlis*, here used with its more educational connotation than the previous reference to the Court (*majlis* of the king).

for you, and reflect upon it, so that you may perceive its significance and become outstanding and righteous men of learning. Then, I shall conduct you to my Court, and you will belong among my happy and honored intimates, forever blessed, as long as I remain and as long as you remain with me."

Among the sciences that he wrote for them in that majlis, he represented the form of the celestial spheres on the ceiling explaining how they revolved, the signs of the zodiac in their ascendancy, and likewise the stars and their movements, making clear their signs and rules.

He illustrated on the courtyard of the majlis the configuration of the earth, the division of the regions and a map of the mountains, oceans, deserts, and rivers. He explained the boundaries of the countries, cities, trade routes, and the kingdom.

In the foremost part of the majlis, he wrote the sciences of medicine and the natural sciences, illustrating the plants, animals, and minerals in their species, genus, and particulars, and explained their characteristics, uses, and dangers.

On another side he wrote the science of crafts and vocations and explained the mode of ploughing and production. He then portrayed the cities and market-places, explaining the regulations governing buying and selling, profit making, and trading.

On another side he inscribed the science of religion and creeds, the laws and the traditions, elucidating the lawful and the unlawful, the penalties and the legal judgments.

Then on yet another side, he wrote concerning political administration and the organization of the states, explaining the mode of levying taxes, and also with regard to the secretaries and the administrators of the Diwān, explaining the payments to be made to the soldiers and the protecting of the borders by the army and the auxiliaries.

These are six kinds of sciences by which the children of kings are edified. This is a parable struck by wise men; that is to say, the wise king is God, the Most High, and the young children are humanity. The erected castle is the firmament and the perfectly constructed majlis is the human form. The illustrated rules of conduct are the wonderful composition of his body, and the inscribed sciences in it are faculties of the soul and its knowledge. We shall explain this in brief, chapter by chapter, in due course.

Analysis

This use of a story to make a point, common throughout the *Rasā'il*, illustrates the Ikhwān's method of conveying knowledge and emphasizes the importance of metaphor in their work. It also shows why, in the story itself, the Ikhwān use portrayal and pictorization as an instrument of teaching. From the outset, the appeal to the imagination and the use of allegory and imagery characterize the importance of an attractive and yet easily understood medium of instruction in the Ikhwān's approach. The key to this methodology is the use of simple, visual effects that impress the mind easily so that the whole process of learning is a pleasant, rather than a heavy and pedantic, excercise.

The explanation of the story in allegorical terms warns us not to approach their theory just from one angle. The story is also a metaphor on the whole meaning and purpose of life and is illustrative of the very comprehensive approach and close interrelationship that the Ikwān sought to exemplify in their system. In fact, the section itself is part of a chapter which treats man as a microcosm, and it is clearly stated that since life is short, and the scope of knowledge of the world too large, man must learn to attain a realization of the whole creation by studying himself, since he epitomizes the whole universe within him.[6] Thus, by relating the microcosm to the macrocosm through rational means one can proceed from understanding the smaller model to understanding the larger one. The stated aim of the Ikhwān can thus be seen to be an educational one, in all its implications; that is why the work as a whole is concerned with all the major aspects of human life—religious, social, political and economic.

When we enter into an analysis of the curriculum that the king has set out for his children, the above aim becomes clearer. Elsewhere, a place of learning (*maktab*) has been described by the Ikhwān as a preparatory ground to enable one to acquire the tools necessary to face life.[7] Likewise, the body is seen as a preparatory place for the soul, in which to acquire all that the soul needs to perfect itself. Just as a student leaves a maktab, so the soul leaves the body once it has perfected itself. Death, or the passing from one stage to another, is thus seen to represent a liberation, since it frees one from the initial stage of preparation.[8] Relating this to the story, we find that the majlis symbolizes the body, and the various subjects relate to the knowledge

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[6] *Rasā'il*, III, 3-5, where they clarify this point.

[7] *Ibid.*, 60.

[8] *Ibid.*, 59-60.

the soul has to acquire before it can reach the "Court of the King," i.e., the Presence of God. That is the final goal.

Another important aspect that is illustrated by the variety of the curriculum is that it rules out exclusivity. All the faculties of the soul are thus meant to reach perfection and like the king's sons must receive a full and wide-ranging education. If this is not done, the soul leaves the body in a state of imperfection, just as an aborted fetus comes out of the womb imperfect.[9]

At a theoretical level, the educational philosophy of the Ikhwān is based on acquiring self-knowledge as an ultimate goal, but this theory is fused with a realization of the necessity to acquire as well skills needed to live in the world. It is this double emphasis—the needs of both this world and the next—that gives the Ikhwān's ideas their importance.

Besides this comprehensiveness, another practical and important aspect of this model is its concept of a suitable environment in which to acquire learning. The provision for a well-built structure and all the amenities of good living seems to emphasize the need for a total commitment to learning, without the encumbrances of everyday problems of having to seek a living at the same time. That is perhaps why the ages of the king's sons are important. They are young, and as the Ikhwān state elsewhere, the mind of a pupil should be like a blank piece of paper on which true knowledge can be imprinted.[10] Therefore the Ikhwān prefer young, virginal minds, and show no interest in extending their teaching to older people, whose attitudes they regarded as having already been formed and warped by false opinions. This implies a process of learning which treats the mind as a receptacle whose role is to imbibe passively the teaching that has been set out on the walls. It might be argued, in view of some present-day ideas on education, that such a system has no room for the creative application of the student's own ideas. However, the Ikhwān do not see the problem in this light. They certainly emphasize in the story the use of reflection on the student's part, but creativity appears in the Ikhwān to be more than just the ability to think for oneself. It is also a realization of presumed "truths"; that is to say, the student is not groping in the dark at some as yet undefined objective. Rather the goals are

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[9] *Ibid.*, 56. In order to extend the wide audience that they wished to educate, they propound similes of the soul in relation to the occupations of sailor, merchant, palace knight, and soldier.

[10] *Rasā'il*, IV, 114-115. In an interesting reference the Ikhwān point out that all the Prophets were young and vigorous, too.

clear and can be apprehended; the process of learning aims only at leading the students to these goals. Here the Ikhwān are much more platonic in their thinking, inasmuch as the objectives are already there and need only to be discovered.[11]

From the physical environment necessary for the acquiring of knowledge, we go on to an analysis of the nature of that knowledge itself. This is, broadly speaking, composed of three strata. The first concerns a knowledge of the celestial spheres and heavenly bodies, the second is that of the earth and its geographical makeup, and the final comprises man and all that pertains to his physical, cultural, and religious makeup. As we have stated, a complete understanding of all three strata during a lifetime is not possible and therefore, by treating man as a microcosm in whom the entire universe is represented in a minute form, the Ikhwān hope to enable a person to come to a true understanding of everything. Yet, whatever man studies, he always must return to himself, since he is a model of the mechanisms by which the other strata operate. Later, the Ikhwān illustrate how this interrelationship works. At one stage the body is compared to a city where by means of numerical symbolism the connection between the two is established.[12] Then the horizon of the reader is expanded from the vision of a city to an analogy including everything in the universe. The heavens, the signs of the zodiac, and the planets are made to correspond with substances and parts of the body, and the analogy is enumerated in detail.[13] Man's society is also seen in relation to the cosmos, and even the rituals of Islam such as the pilgrimage bear comparison with the earth of the cosmos, in the Ikhwān's scheme.[14] The final goal of all these strata is one and thus also sums up man's goal. The human pilgrimage to Mecca symbolizes the generation and corruption of minerals, plants, and animals where all are returning to the point of departure, since the multiplicity of existent things has its source in the unity of God and the return to Him is man's ultimate goal.[15]

Though the final goal is seen to be a spiritual one, the Ikhwān equally emphasize this life and its needs. This practical and pragmatic aspect of their theory of learning is illustrated by including within the

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[11] The Ikhwān emphasize this aspect of learning by reminiscence; see *Rasā'il*, III, 393, where they quote Plato.

[12] *Rasā'il*, II, 320. For a more systematic classification, see Nasr, *Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, pp. 40-43, where he tabulates the Ikhwān's classification of knowledge according to the sciences within three major categories.

[13] *Rasā'il*, III, 9-14.

[14] *Ibid.*, II, 118-119.

sciences those pertaining to agriculture, economic and political organization. All this knowledge of the practical sciences and skills is aimed at helping man to create a wholesome and balanced environment so that his spiritual and material needs may be in equilibrium. Learning for itself has no place in the *Rasā'il*; all learning must be translated into action.[16] The skills and sciences have an immediate practical goal of coordinating the everyday life and needs of an individual and an ultimate goal where he learns to acquire self-knowledge and perfection for the time when he must leave this world. Elsewhere in the *Rasā'il* it is emphasized that man must take into account both spiritual and material welfare since both complement each other and neither can be neglected.[17]

Another aspect of the theory that needs to be considered is the role of religion in their educational system. In the story, the study of religions, law, and traditions is included in the curriculum. These, however, represent organized religion which in the Ikhwān's framework is swallowed up in a wider concept of learning that is termed *ḥikma*.[18] They strongly criticize the *'ulamā'* of the day, though the Ikhwān too were in turn strongly condemned by scholars like the Mu'tazilī, 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, as being un-Islamic.[19] It seems quite evident that traditionalist groups in the Muslim world were against the Ikhwān's integration of philosophy and the Sharī'a and also perhaps of the underlying political objectives of the Ismā'īlī movement to which the Ikhwān belonged.[20] The Ikhwān's vision of an Islamic life went beyond adherence to a Sharī'a. The latter was important but only as part of a comprehensive scheme where learning by rational means and the use of reasoning were given importance. It has been thought that the Ikhwān elevated reason above everything else.[21] On the other hand,

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[15] *Ibid.* S. 89 : 27-28 is quoted : "O, Contented Soul, Return to your Lord, pleased, and pleasing [to God]."

[16] *Rasā'il*, I, 201-202.

[17] This is repeatedly emphasized in using the body and soul as similes, both being inseparable and both needing each other; see *Rasā'il*, III, 218.

[18] The Ikhwān underline this by calling a pupil a lover of wisdom and philosophy (*muḥibb al-ḥikma*).

[19] See, e.g., *Rasā'il*, III, 48. For 'Abd al-Jabbār's views, see Stern, "New Information," *Islamic Studies*, III (1964), 407-410.

[20] *Ibid.*, 421, and Marquet, *Ikhwān*, 1071. The Ikhwān's own aim is stated very clearly by one of their contemporaries, al Tawḥīdī; see al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā'* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 82.

[21] Ismā'īlī Rāgī al-Fārūqī, "On the Ethics of the Brethren of Purity," *M.W.*, L (1960), 109-121, 193-198, 252-258; LI (1961), 18-24. See esp., 120, fn. 61, 197-198.

they clearly state that they consider religion to be worthier than philosophy.[22] It appears that the confusion lies in the fact that their criticism of the traditionalists and their desire to popularize philosophical thought aroused the antagonism of the 'ulamā' and politicians who felt that their vested interests were threatened. It is against this political background that the accusations against them can be properly understood. On the whole, however, their commitment to the Qur'ān and Islamic tradition is evident throughout their work. Both rational thought and traditional learning have a place in the Ikhwān's system; both are tools and not ends, and it is therefore superfluous to speak of their attitudes and views as being governed by any one particular mode of thinking.

Concluding Remarks

Throughout the article, it has been emphasized that we are trying to analyze a theory of learning as it has been expounded in a parable in the *Rasā'il*. But when we assess our analysis of the parable, it becomes evident that we have attempted to draw out just one thread and as such reflects only a partial picture. The choice of the parable, however, is fortunate, because it illustrates and brings together the many threads in the whole fabric of the Ikhwān's thinking. The theory of learning, as a result, is just one dimension in what is a capsulization of not only an educational system but also a philosophy of life. The parable mirrors both the goal and the system by which the goal can be achieved, and therein lies, I think, the key to grasping the meaning of the *Rasā'il* as a whole. The Ikhwān are always discussing things from different perspectives, and if one is able to discern these levels of meaning, the *Rasā'il* can be seen for what they truly are, an ideal vision leading to both ultimate and immediate goals, one that is not left suspended as an unrealizable ideal but which is worked out through institutional frameworks; in their own words: "We witnessed the spiritual City, elevated in the air...."[23] It is not surprising, therefore, that the *Rasā'il* echoed in the minds of an American educationalist the hope that the humanistic spirit and aims that permeate the educational philosophy of the Ikhwān should form the basis of American

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[22] More exactly, they state that religion is a better cure for sick souls than philosophy (*Rasā'il*, III, 31-32), because it is the Prophets inspired by revelation who are the true doctors for these diseases of the soul.

[23] *Rasā'il*, IV, 85.

education, so that "it will become consistent, comprehensive and aimful, from the kindergarten to the university, from the cradle to the grave."[24]

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[24] Thomas Davidson, "The Brothers of Sincerity," *International Journal of Ethics*, VIII (1897-1898), 460.

SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD RASHĪD RIḌĀ'S RELATIONS WITH JAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-AFGHĀNĪ AND MUḤAMMAD 'ABDUH

In the year 1898, Shaykh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, the well-known Muslim reformist scholar, arrived in Egypt, where he was to live until his death on August 22, 1935. During the period between 1898 and 1935 he published, in addition to many other works, his famous Islamic magazine *al-Manār*, which included his influential Qur'ān commentary known as *Tafsīr al-Manār*. Unquestionably, it is through his writings in *al-Manār* that Shaykh Rashīd became known throughout the Islamic world as a reformer and attained his greatest influence. But it was also during his Egyptian period that Shaykh Rashīd became a friend and disciple of Muḥammad 'Abduh.

This paper will discuss Shaykh Rashīd's relationship to al-Afghānī and 'Abduh, with whom his name has been closely linked, and the controversy over the nature of the relationship between Shaykh Rashīd and 'Abduh. Finally, it will discuss whether or not 'Abduh considered him as his successor.

Shaykh Rashīd came to learn of al-Afghānī and his journal, *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā*, by accident, as he himself described it. While he was looking through his father's papers, he found two issues of *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* and began to read them.[1] They worked on him like magic, he said, and he began looking eagerly for other issues, finding some with his father and the rest with his teacher, Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Jisr. Shaykh Rashīd copied them all by hand and reread them time and again.[2] This exposure to *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* drew him to a new understanding of Islam, no longer seeing it as only a spiritual medium towards the hereafter, but as a "religion both spiritual and temporal concerned with this world and the hereafter," among whose goals

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[1] 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī claims that he was the one who brought the news of *al-'Urwa* to Shaykh Rashīd for the first time from Tripoli and that both of them started searching for the issues to copy them. Al-Maghribī added that he copied the whole issue, but his friend, Shaykh Rashīd, copied only the important articles (al-Maghribī, *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī: Dhikrayāt wa-aḥādūth* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1967), pp. 112-117.

[2] Aḥmad al-Sharabāṣī found this copy among Shaykh Rashīd's papers.

is the guidance of man to supremacy on earth as a deputy of God for the establishment of love and justice.[3]

Shaykh Rashīd's new understanding of Islam created in him a fresh concept of what was needed for guiding Muslims. His main concern was at first limited to the correction of erroneous beliefs and the guidance of the faithful toward obedience to God. In pursuit of these goals, he always carried with him a book such as *Kitāb al-Zawājir 'an Iqtirāf al-Kabā'ir* [4] as a guide in his preaching in neighboring villages. With a concept of Islam as applying to the practical and worldly aspects of life, he saw the necessity of guiding the Islamic community toward a higher civilization that could compete with nations stronger in scientific, industrial, and technological development.[5] He was influenced primarily by Islamic reformist articles dealing with Egyptian problems.[6]

Shaykh Rashīd was not alone in his respect for *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā*. Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Jisr was heard to say, "No one doubted that *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* would have created a great revolution in the Muslim world had it survived long enough." And from Muḥammad Bey 'Alī al-Mu'ayyad: "It was in Baghdad in the time of *al-'Urwa*'s appearance. It was mailed to the great Arab leader in Iraq, al-Sayyid Salmān, Naqīb al-Ashrāf [the head of the Prophet's descendants] and every time he received an issue he said: 'This newspaper could cause a revolution even before the next issue comes out.' "[7] Shaykh Rashīd's own enthusiasm for *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* was reflected in his huge work, *Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām*, in which he dedicated over a hundred pages, in both volumes, to discussing *al-'Urwa* and reprinting its articles. In the aforementioned book he discussed the secret political association of *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* and its laws. Particularly interesting among these laws was Article 4, which called for the revival of the principle of *jihād* to be used against the enemies of Islam,[8] a concept later abandoned by theologians, but which was at one time considered by many as one of the pillars of Islam.

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[3] Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh* (Cairo : al-Manār Press, 1931), I, 84.

[4] There are two books under this title, one by Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shāfi'ī and the other by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥajar al-Haythamī. (See Ḥajī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, Vol. II, Col. 956, Istanbul, 1362/1943.) Shaykh Rashīd used the one by Ibn Ḥajar. (See *Ikhā'*, p. 104.)

[5] Rashīd Riḍā, *Tārīkh al-Imām*, I, 84-85.

[6] *Ibid.*, 302.

[7] *Ibid.*, 304.

[8] *Ibid.*, 284.

Also interesting about this secret society was its oath, required of every member. In composing it, Muḥammad 'Abduh demonstreted his mastery of the written classical language.[9] Apparent in this oath was an attempt to establish a connection between the Muslim League and the Oriental League, which represented the non-Muslims, in that the members swore to "promote brotherhood with non-Muslims." According to Shaykh Rashīd, both 'Abduh and al-Afghānī cared for and defended the two leagues with the same vigor. For example, 'Abduh spoke in favor of Buṭrus Pasha Ghālī when several Egyptian newspapers accused him of overzealousness in the Coptic cause.[10]

Al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā was established in Paris, its first issue appearing in Jumādā al-Ūlā 5, 1301 H. (March 13, 1884). Shakīb Arslān was told by Muḥammad 'Abduh that while all the opinions in *al-'Urwa* were those of al-Afghānī the words were 'Abduh's.

The concerns of *al-'Urwa*, as stated by Shaykh Rashīd, were four: (1) The Muslim League, (2) the Oriental League, (3) the Egyptian cause, and (4) the Sudanese cause.[11] 'Afāf Luṭfī al-Sayyid described the paper as follows:

> A Pan-Islamic paper that aimed its message to all the Muslims of the world and urged them to unite and restore the lost glories of Islam, *al-'Urwa* was specifically aimed at freeing Egypt from the British occupation. This was to be effected by stirring up public opinion in Egypt and also in India.[12] The ideas expounded in *al-'Urwa* may be summarized into two main themes. The first is that true Islam has become corrupted through ignorance and must therefore be reformed—otherwise the Muslims all faced extinction; the second point is that the Muslim countries had been betrayed by their rulers, who, swayed by personal motives of greed and aggrandizement, gave foreigners a free hand in their countries. The consequence was that the Europeans who coveted Muslim lands took advantage of the inner discords of Islam and sought to destroy the religious unity of the Muslim nations.[13]

According to *al-'Urwa*, the first and most important step in reversing this decline and removing the burdensome and degrading British

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[9] *Ibid.*, 287-288.

[10] *Ibid.*, 289, and II, 361.

[11] *Ibid.*, I, 306.

[12] 'Afāf Luṭfī al-Sayyid, *Egypt and Cromer: A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relationship* (London: Murray, 1968), p. 87.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

occupation was the restoration of true Islam, which could then serve as the basis of solidarity and strength, both political and moral. "*Al-'Urwa* called upon the Muslims to throw aside their superstitions... and to learn the techniques of the West to be able to defend themselves against encroachment by Europe."[14] The journal thus preached Islam as a kind of nationalism, to be directed first against the tyranny of colonialism.

Muḥammad al-Bahī wrote of the movement led by al-Afghānī and 'Abduh, which he associated primarily with al-Afghānī: "In its appearance it is a political movement, but in its essence a Muslim one."[15]

> This was al-Afghānī's struggle as a Muslim critic and political propagandist against Western imperialism. In his political call he abided by the principles of the Qur'ān and the true Sunna.... The program which he suggested to make the Muslims a united, vital and self-determined power is summarized with this sentence [by al-Afghānī]: "I hope that the authority of all them—i.e., all the Muslims—will be the Qur'ān, and the axis of their unity will be religion."[16]

What appears to have influenced Shaykh Rashīd and made him change his views on Islam is the fact that each of *al-'Urwa*'s articles, summoning the Muslim community to unite under the banner of a pure and revitalized religion against Western imperialism, unjust and tyrannical rule, as well as a decadent and static society, centered on interpretations of certain Qur'anic verses and authentic ḥadīths, thus emphasizing the applicability of Islam to matters of worldly concern. The other articles, which were primarily political discourses against Western imperialism, also centered on interpretations of authentic ḥadīths.

Nikki Keddie in her book on al-Afghānī summarizes the main themes of *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* as hostility towards British imperialism, advocacy of Islamic unity, and the application of Islamic principles to urgent, contemporary questions.[17] She considers the predominant

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[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Muḥammad al-Bahī, *al-Fikr al-Islāmī al-Ḥadīth wa-Ṣilatuhu bi 'l-Isti'mār al-Gharbī*, 5th edn. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1970), p. 82.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[17] Nikki R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī: A Political Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 220.

tone of *al-'Urwa* to be the need of the Muslim world to return to its earlier unity and activism.[18]

In much the same way Charles C. Adams, in *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, notes the potential for political unity and the wider acclaim any Muslim ruler can enjoy by demonstrating his personal devotion to the *sharī'a*. Despite the fact that it remains incumbent upon all Muslims to strive for Muslim authority over lands which were at any time under Muslim control, this former political unity was lost as a result of the ambitions and greed of various Muslim rulers.

According to *al-'Urwa* the bonds uniting Muslims began to disintegrate when the 'Abbasid caliphs became content merely to possess the title of caliph and ceased to strive for scholarship and training in religious matters and in the exercise of *ijtihād*, as did the first four caliphs. Hence, from the beginning of the third century of the hijra, sects and divisions multiplied, and the caliphate itself was divided. "Today we find Muslim rulers giving a free hand to foreigners to carry on the affairs of their states, and even of their house-holds, and to fasten the yoke of foreign rule upon their own necks. Europeans, greedy for Muslim lands, seek to destroy their religious unity and thus take advantage of the inner discord of Islam."[19]

In October, 1884, the publication of *al-'Urwa* was terminated, in part because of financial problems, but also because it was banned in Egypt and India by the British government.

In 1892 Shaykh Rashīd made his first attempt to contact al-Afghānī, who was at that time in Istanbul. Writing from his home in Tripoli, he praised al-Afghānī profusely, by referring to him as "the perfect man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*) and, by commenting on the meaning of his name, "the beauty of the (secular) world and of religion" (*Jamāl al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn*). He implored al-Afghānī to accept him as his disciple.

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 224. Anṭūn Sa'ādeh, the founder of the SNP (Social National Party), attempted to refute the idea that religion is a basis for Muslim and Arab unity. He particularly attacked the ideas and call of *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* in his book, *al-Islām fī Risālatayhi al-Masiḥiyya wa 'l-Muḥammadiyya* (Islam in its Christian and Muḥammadan Messages), pp. 207-216. Extracts from this book which deal with our subject can be found in *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East*. ed. by Kemal H. Karpat (New York : Praeger, 1968), pp. 72-79.

[19] Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* (New York : Russell and Russell, 1968), pp. 59-60. See also Rashīd Riḍā, *Tārīkh al-Imām*, II, 244-249, 255, 276-282, and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad 'Abduh, *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* (Beirut, 1970), pp. 70-75, 85, 107-113.

> Since I grew up I have not received any item of news more enjoyable and desirable and more noble and supreme than the news of my master, Jamāl al-Dīn, of whom I am so fond that I am called by my friends "the lover of Jamāl al-Dīn."

Imploring al-Afghānī to take him as a *murīd* (pupil), he wrote:

> ... and I cannot see myself turned away from the gates of your generosity, as the reward of those who love to be loved; kinship (*raḥim*)[20] has certain rights, which someone of your eminence takes into consideration and observes.[21]

Al-Afghānī was very pleased with the letter and spoke highly of it to some of his friends, who then told Shaykh Rashīd. Nevertheless, al-Afghānī did not answer him directly because, as he explained to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, who then wrote to Shaykh Rashīd, "... he has neither pen, nor ink, nor paper...," meaning that he was forbidden to corrrespond, lest he arouse the Sultan's displeasure.[22]

Despite Shaykh Rashīd's professed admiration of al-Afghānī and the fact that he had heard from mutual friends of al-Afghānī's positive response to the letter, he took no further steps in his desire to become al-Afghānī's pupil throughout the five years which passed between the writing of the letter and the death of al-Afghānī in March of 1897. Perhaps Shaykh Rashīd hesitated because he was aware of the tense and precarious political situation which surrounded al-Afghānī. Whatever the reason, his admiration for the man and his ideas did not fade.

After al-Afghānī's death, during a period of relative quiet in Egypt, Shaykh Rashīd traveled secretly (in order to avoid interference from the authorities), to join a person of kindred spirit, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh.[23] Once in Egypt, Shaykh Rashīd began meeting with 'Abduh on every possible occasion in the latter's home, where he was received in the room which 'Abduh reserved for his closest friends.[24]

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[20] The kinship through both men's claim of descent of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

[21] Full letter in Arabic in Rashīd Riḍā, *Tārīkh al-Imām*, I, 86-87.

[22] *Ibid.*, 87; al-Maghribī, *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī*, pp. 112-117.

[23] Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *al-Manār wa 'l-Azhar* (Cairo: al-Manār Press, 1353/1934), p. 192; *al-Sayyid Rashīd Riḍā aw ikhā' arba'īn sana*, compiled and edited by Shakīb Arslān (Damascus: Ibn Zaydun Press, 1356/1937), p. 124.

[24] Rashīd Riḍā, *Tārīkh al-Imām*, I, 1000.

The meeting in Egypt was not the first encounter between Shaykh Rashīd and 'Abduh. They had met for the first time in Tripoli when 'Abduh was expelled from Egypt following the failure of 'Urābī's revolt in 1882. As was his habit, Shaykh Rashīd recorded the conversation they held at the time. 'Abduh had come to visit one of his friends from al-Azhar, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Āl Baraka, who was teaching at the time in al-Khātūniyya school where Shaykh Rashīd and a friend greeted him warmly and responded to his questions about the teaching methods of the school. 'Abduh asked if Qur'anic commentary were taught, and Shaykh Rashīd answered that it was not, although there was one man, partial to Isrā'īliyāt (Jewish legends) and Sufi superstitions, who read the commentary of *Rūḥ al-Bayān* by Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī (d. 1127/1715) to the common people. Shaykh Rashīd asked 'Abduh what commentary he recommended for students and was surprised to hear him suggest *al-Kashshāf* by al-Zamakhsharī (457/1075 - 538/1144), which he knew contained much of Mu'tazilite doctrines. 'Abduh said, "[the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites] are known, and anyone who knows the doctrines of the sects and the opinions of the people of the Sunna faith can distinguish them from others."[25]

This incident can probably be considered one reason for some scholars' claims that 'Abduh was a Mu'tazilite. But this accusation is very old and was denied by 'Abduh himself while he was still a student in al-Azhar. Having been reported by envious colleagues to the rector, Shaykh 'Ilaysh, for reading books not approved for teaching in al-Azhar (specifically, the *Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyya*), he was called to explain why he favored the Mu'tazilite doctrine over the Ash'arite.

> If I have left the imitation of al-Ash'arī, why should I now imitate the Mu'tazilis? Better to leave all imitations and follow evidence (*dalīl*).[26]

Shaykh Rashīd and 'Abduh met a second time prior to Shaykh Rashīd's emigration to Egypt. This was again in Tripoli, when 'Abduh was in Syria on vacation. During this time Shaykh Rashīd was continually in the company of 'Abduh, and, as he wrote later, his admiration for 'Abduh grew tremendously. He regularly recorded the conclusion of their conversations, which concerned the question of reform—the cause which he emigrated to Egypt to take part in.

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[25] *Ibid.*, 390.

[26] *Ibid.*, 133-134.

With the exception of a few issues, the two men were in full agreement.[27]

Together with the decision to travel to Egypt, Shaykh Rashīd also conceived a plan to establish a reformist magazine inspired by the wisdom and experience of 'Abduh. Thus, he visited several Egyptian towns before arriving in Cairo, and again some time later, to survey the mood of the people as it might affect the reform movement.

'Abduh reported to Shaykh Rashīd concerning the Egyptian press as follows:

> The Egyptians were in a situation that diverts their attention to one aspect of the newspapers, i.e., the government press and what it says about the Khedive and the British. They do not care about anything else. Already there are three newspapers which cover this: *al-Mu'ayyad*, *al-Muqaṭṭam*, *al-Ahrām*.... [Do not expect to] compete with any of these. If you write on a literary subject, such as education, teaching or literature, nobody will care about what you write. I do not know of anyone at al-Azhar or other schools who works in the language and its literature.[28]

Thus, 'Abduh first encouraged Shaykh Rashīd to write a book rather than a magazine. Nevertheless, he finally agreed to help Shaykh Rashīd in his project, provided it remained true to his principles. Shaykh Rashīd replied:

> I promise to have a relationship with you like that of the disciple (*al-murīd*) with his master (*ustādh*), as the Sufis say. But I reserve for myself one thing in which I disagree with them [the Sufis], namely, that I shall ask about anything which I do not understand, accept only what I understand, and do only what I believe to be beneficial.[29]

Meeting to devise the general policy lines of the paper, they agreed (1) not to take sides with any party whatsoever, (2) not to answer any paper which disparages or criticizes the paper or its editor, and (3) not to serve the ideas or purposes of any high officials. They chose

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[27] *Ibid.*, 1000.
[28] *Ibid.*, 1002.
[29] *Ibid.*, 1003.

the Amīriyya publishing house, a government-owned enterprise, in order to avoid private intrigues. 'Abduh helped Shaykh Rashīd in making preparations for the first issue and built up a potential readership by praising it to everyone with whom he came in contact, including the Khedive 'Abbās and Shaykh Muḥammad al-Mahdī.[30]

Shaykh Rashīd repeatedly acknowledged the value of 'Abduh's moral support.[31] Apparently there were attempts by the Khedive to come between the two of them by offering financial support for the magazine. Shaykh Rashīd refused his offer, preferring to keep 'Abduh's friendship.

> The purpose in mentioning this... is to refute the thoughts of some individuals who fail to realize that a strong relationship between people can exist without material benefit. Neither of us is a materialist or cares about money. If I worked for money, I would be very far from this man who lives, as I do, on the barest essentials for life. The Khedive of Egypt is very much richer than he and more able to help those who serve him. And he tried [with me]. [If I were interested in material benefits] how could I choose the Khedive's enmity over his friendship for the sake of ['Abduh]?[32]

It is frequently assumed that Shaykh Rashīd was no more than a pupil of 'Abduh. But it would be slighting him to claim that only he benefited from their relationship. It is true, of course, that the influence of *al-Manār* was greatly enhanced by its association with 'Abduh's preeminence as a religious reformer—as Shaykh Rashīd acknowledged to Shaykh 'Alī Yūsuf, the owner of *al-Mu'ayyad*:

> 'Abduh's praise is needed for its own sake, to convince the Muslim world of his leadership; because the reform movement will not expand or be maintained without a trustworthy leader to be the axis of its unity.[33]

However, on more than one occasion 'Abduh expressed his appreciation and gratitude for Shaykh Rashīd's friendship and dedication. When a group of 'Abduh's friends, including Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm

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[30] *Ibid.*, 589, n. 774.
[31] *Ibid.*, 1011-1016.
[32] *Ibid.*, 1008.
[33] *Ibid.*

Salmān, one of 'Abduh's closest associates, tried to turn him against Shaykh Rashīd, 'Abduh was incensed.

> There is no one among you like him who could fill his place. Bring me one like him and I will leave his friendship. He did not say and will not say any of what you have told me. The time has come to tell you: God sent me this young man to be an extension of my life. There are many things on my mind which I want to say or write to the *umma*, but I am too busy and cannot tend to it. He takes care of it and writes it down, expressing it as I wish. And I found during my trip to Tunisia and Europe the results of his work and the influence of his *al-Manār* to be as I had never imagined or conceived. He found parties, disciples and friends for me. I do not understand what you say about his no longer needing me as he did in the beginning. What was that need? What did I do for him? By God, I am ashamed of myself because I do not do anything for him. And he did everything. He did for me what none of those whom I raised up, educated, and dedicated my life to ever did.[34]

It has been said, "If it were not for *al-Manār* most of 'Abduh's thoughts and wisdom would have been lost, and his reforms and history unknown. And as a result of *al-Manār*'s influence, 'Abduh had a party and followers in Tunis and Algiers."[35]

'Abd Allāh Maḥmūd Shiḥāta described Shaykh Rashīd as follows:

> Rashīd Riḍa was a reliable transmitter, he transmitted al-Imām's thoughts, commented on them, and explained them, praised the correct side of them, and pointed out those that were erroneous. Who knows what the fate of al-Imām's thoughts in the Qur'anic Commentary might have been if al-Sayyid Rashīd had not transmitted them to us? Many famous scholars' teachings have become lost because their pupils did not disseminate them.[36]

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[34] *Ibid.*, 1018. It should be remembered that although these words of praise were recorded by Shaykh Rashīd in *Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām*, which appeared after 'Abduh's death, there were those present when the words were spoken and still alive when Shaykh Rashīd published them who would most certainly have objected publicly if he had misquoted the words or misrepresented their meaning.

[35] Anwar al-Jundī, *Tarājim al-a'lām al-mu'āṣirīn fī al-'ālam al-islāmī* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo-al-Miṣriyya, 1970), p. 105.

[36] 'Abd Allāh Maḥmūd Shiḥāta, *Manhaj al-Imām Muḥammad 'Abduh fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* (Cairo: al-Majlis al-A'lā li-Ri'āyat al-Funūn wa 'l-Ādāb wa 'l-'ulūm al-ijtimā'iyya, 1382/1963), pp. 209-210.

Shaykh Rashīd wrote further about 'Abduh's opinions of him in a section of *Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām* entitled "The Ten Words" (*al-Kalimāt al-'Ashr*—Arabic equivalent of "The Ten Commandments"):

The first word—'Abduh's saying to his friend Maḥmūd Sāmī Pasha al-Bārūdī that he hopes Shaykh Rashīd will be his successor in reform just as he ['Abduh] was the successor of al-Afghānī. This statement was made by 'Abduh to al-Bārūdī when they met for the first time after al-Bārūdī's exile to Ceylon. Al-Bārūdī said to 'Abduh: "Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn left you for us, and you carried on the reform movement very well, but I am afraid the chain will be cut after you. Please tell me if you have anyone in whom you have a hope to carry the reform message after you?" 'Abduh said, "Yes, I have a young Syrian taking care of that, and I will send him to meet you."[37]

The second word—'Abduh's saying to a certain Ḥusayn Dānish Bey (who then told Shaykh Rashīd): "I have not seen anyone more concerned than this young man [the editor of *al-Manār*] with the harmonizing of religion and reason, and of the sharī'a and the civil interest of the people which fits the spirit of the times."

The third word—said to His Eminence al-Sayyid Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī when asked to whom to turn after 'Abduh was gone; 'Abduh said, "To Shaykh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, the editor of *al-Manār*."

The fourth word—declared by 'Abduh in his class on Qur'anic commentary at al-Azhar. Arriving late to the class, Shaykh Rashīd moved toward a seat some distance from 'Abduh, but was motioned by 'Abduh toward the front, and he said to the rest: "He [Shaykh Rashīd] understands and learns more than any of you."[38]

The fifth word—shows the degree to which Shaykh Rashīd was independent in his ideas as well as the degree of 'Abduh's influence on him in adopting or neglecting an idea. Shaykh Aḥmad Idrīs, 'Abduh's colleague in inspecting the shar'ia courts, told Shaykh Rashīd that while he and 'Abduh were in Alexandria some of 'Abduh's friends spoke disapprovingly of something published in *al-Manār* about the Ottoman government and asked 'Abduh to stop the editor from publishing such things. 'Abduh turned to Idrīs saying: "By God, I do not know anyone more independent in his thinking than this man, and I must always use reason in discussing any subject with him."

The sixth word—to Shaykh Muḥammad Shākir when he told 'Abduh that the Khedive would be pleased if 'Abduh parted company from

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[37] Rashīd Riḍā, *Tārīkh al-Imām*, I, 995.

[38] *Ibid.*; see also 769.

Shaykh Rashīd: "How could I agree to leave the editor of *al-Manār* when he is the transmitter of my thoughts (*turjumān afkārī*)?"[39] Shaykh Shākir himself told this to Shaykh Rashīd.

The seventh word—to Buṭrus Pasha Ghālī, when he spoke to 'Abduh on the same subject: "I would prefer to live with the editor of *al-Manār* in the sands of 'Ayn-Shams [where 'Abduh used to live] than to hold the post of *iftā'* and membership on the committee administering al-Azhar, because this man is united with me in ideology, thought, manner and work."[40]

The eighth word—to 'Abd al-Karīm Salmān.[41]

The ninth word—a will which 'Abduh had intended to write to the umma telling them what to do for the reform movement when he was gone. During a serious illness, Shaykh Rashīd asked 'Abduh about the will, but 'Abduh said: "There is no need for it any more, because the purpose of it is well known by now."

The tenth word—the verses he wrote during his last illness just before his death, specifically the last two verses in which 'Abduh mentioned the word *rashīd* (meaning "rightly guided"), which Shaykh Rashīd interpreted as meaning him.

> Bless Islam and provide it with a guide
> a guide to the right way
> *Rashīd*, who lights the path
> while the night is very dark.
> Similar to me in articulated
> speech, knowledge, and wisdom,
> And be like the sword,
> the sharp sword.

On the other hand, some of 'Abduh's biographers deny that Shaykh Rashīd was the one whom 'Abduh intended to be his successor as leader of the reform movement. Among these is Ṭāhir al-Ṭanāḥī, editor of *Mudhakkirāt al-Imām Muḥammad 'Abduh*. In the introduction to this work, he discussed *Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām* and commented on its author, Shaykh Rashīd:

> Al-Sayyid Rashīd did something which no other biographer of of a great man or pupil writing about his teacher has ever done

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[39] *Ibid.*; see also 586.

[40] *Ibid.*; see also 586.

[41] See p. 281 of this article.

> before. He wrote the history of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh and what he did as though he were writing his own history as well. One does not find a single chapter or essay by al-Sayyid Rashīd about al-Ustādh al-Imām without a reference to himself in it too, as if his life were a part of the Imām's life. This zeal for himself reached the extent that he presumed to complete the works of al-Imām—his researches, ideas, and books, such as *Risālat al-Tawḥīd* and the Qur'anic commentary.... And he [Shaykh Rashīd] transmitted verses from the Imām written before the latter's death, in which he called upon God to make al-Sayyid Rashīd Riḍa his successor in reforming Islam. Whether those verses were composed by Sheikh Muḥammad 'Abduh or by al-Sayyid Rashīd Riḍa... it shows his [Shaykh Rashīd's] concern for himself. He has already seized many of ['Abduh's] ideas and claimed the right to publish them, explain them, and add to them without conferring with any of al-Ustādh al-Imām's other pupils.[42]

In point of fact, Shaykh Rashīd consulted with 'Abduh's friends and disciples about writing 'Abduh's biography.[43] Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, in a private conversation with Dr. Aḥmad al-Sharabāṣī, said, "Those verses gave me doubts about Shaykh Rashīd, for he was the one who composed it; I do not believe that al-Ustādh al-Imām ever composed any poetry." When al-Sharabāṣī reminded Ṭāhā about al-Imām's poem on the 'Urābī revolution which starts, "How is it that fate excessive in its pride and arrogance should rebuke my heart for its carelessness?," Ṭāhā paused awhile, then said, "I fear that all the poetry which is related to al-Ustādh al-Imām is Shaykh Rashīd's work." Al-Sharabāṣī commented, "The Doctor did not give me the chance to remind him that the 'Urābī Revolution happened before Rashīd met al-Ustādh al-Imām."[44]

Ṭāhā Ḥusayn regarded Shaykh Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Rāziq as 'Abduh's successor.[45] Others thought Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid to be the successor.[46] On the other hand, there were many (such as Shakīb Arslān,

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[42] Ṭāhir al-Ṭanāḥī, ed., *Mudhakkirāt al-Imām Muḥammad 'Abduh* (Cairo: Dār al-Hilāl, 1380/1961), pp. 10-12.

[43] Rashīd Riḍā, *Tārīkh al-Imām*, I, 3-4.

[44] Aḥmad al-Sharabāṣī, *Rashīd Riḍa Ṣāḥib al-Manār: 'aṣruh wa-ḥayātu wa-maṣādir thaqāfati* (Cairo: al-Majlis al-A'lā lil-shu'ūn al-Islāmiyya 1389/1970), pp. 265-266.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

Dr. Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī and others) who believe that Shaykh Rashīd is the one who should be thought of as 'Abduh's successor.[47] This proves what Zakī Mubārak said in 1943: "The people thought it was too much for Rashīd to take upon himself the right of announcing the glorious deeds of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, and to publish and explain his religious and social ideas, and they thought unjustly that this deed was no more than skill in exploitation."[48]

One day Zakī Mubārak met Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Qurrā'ah in a park in Cairo, and when Shaykh 'Abduh's name was mentioned in their conversation, Shaykh Qurrā'ah said, "Do you know that Shaykh 'Abduh never cherished anybody more than he cherished me?" Mubārak asked, "Why?" "Because I visited him when he was in jail after the defeat of 'Urābī's revolt." "And was this visit so important?" "Noble men do not forget a good gesture." Mubārak stated, "A short visit to Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh in prison and Shaykh Qurrā'ah gives himself such a right. What will Shaykh Rashīd's share of 'Abduh's self be while he [Shaykh Rashīd] raises the banner of his [Abduh's] ideas everywhere?"[49]

Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fāḍil b. 'Āshūr, the Mufti of Tunis, relates 'Abduh's fame with *al-Manār*:

> With the beginning of *al-Manār*'s publication in the year 1315/1898, al-Ustādh al-Imām's thoughts started to gain prominence, and with the expansion of *al-Manār* those thoughts started expanding and spreading, to the extent that Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh's leadership was institutionalized in fact by the publication of *al-Manār*. In it were published his articles, reports, fatwas, and his attitudes in defending Islam. In it he also answered his opponents and enemies. In it his name was praised, and was given the title of al-Ustādh al-Imām. In it, the most important consideration of all, *al-Manār Qur'anic Commentary* was published.[50]

In Ibn 'Āshūr's opinion, the *al-Manār Commentary* is in fact the product of three persons: Al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, and Shaykh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā. But while Shaykh Rashīd completes the chain he is also considered to be the initiator

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[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 267-268.

[48] *Majallat al-Risāla*, XI, 526 (1943), 604.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Muḥammad al-Fāḍil b. 'Āshūr, *al-Tafsīr wa-Rijāluhu* (Tunis: Dār al-Kutub al-Sharqiyya, 1966), p. 196.

of it. For it was Rashīd who encouraged and urged 'Abduh to start the commentary, and after 'Abduh's death he continued it until his own death. If there is one among the three who deserves to have the commentary attributed to him, it is its real author, Shaykh Rashīd Riḍā.[51]

'Abduh himself was more just in giving Shaykh Rashīd credit for spreading his name and ideas throughout the Muslim world, and since 'Abduh admitted to his friends on more than one occasion that "God sent Rashīd to be a continuation of my life" (*madad an li ḥayātī*), it is not surprising that Shaykh Rashīd should consider his life as part of 'Abduh's life. If it had not been for Shaykh Rashīd, 'Abduh would never have achieved the fame and popularity, even inside Egypt, which he had when he died. Moreover, Shaykh Rashīd wrote *Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām* towards the end of his life, when he was at the peak of his fame in the Muslim and Arab world. Hence he had no need to attempt to win fame by identifying himself so closely with 'Abduh.

While there are strong indications that 'Abduh considered Shaykh Rashīd as his successor, we find that Shaykh Rashīd is always unjustly overshadowed by 'Abduh. However, it is clear that he had his own personality and his own thoughts and was not merely a copy of his master. Through engaging in political activities, Shaykh Rashīd came clearly to differentiate himself from the attitudes of 'Abduh who condemned and abandoned politics. But above all, the publication of *al-Manār*, Shaykh Rashīd's chief literary achievement, was due entirely to his own initiative. Although he received some aid from 'Abduh, it was essentially his own work, and the organ of his outlook and ideas, surviving the death of 'Abduh by thirty years.

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[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

ARAB MUSLIMS AND THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

Introduction [1]

The Arab-Israeli struggle for control of Palestine involves the religious history and identity of over 120,000,000 Muslim Arabs. Although there is a wide range of opinion among Arabic speaking Muslims, there can be no doubt that the Palestine problem challenges the roots of Islamic identity. Four Arab-Israeli wars and the present state of tension ensure that the struggle between Jewish Zionism and Arab nationalism equally affect the most pious and the most secularist, the traditional religious scholar and the modern government worker, the pilgrim on his way to Mecca and the petrochemical engineer returned from study in the United States. In 1969 the entire Muslim world reacted with anger at the fire set in al-Aqṣā Mosque by a mentally unbalanced Christian. The two Muslim societies most directly affected, the Palestinian and the Egyptian, have seen all their concerns give way to a concentration on this one issue. For them the historical pattern of the political relations between Jews and Muslims has been deeply intertwined with religious values and religious history. Although secularist nationalists have attempted to divorce politics and religion with some success in the Arab world, the Palestine problem unites the two inextricably.

It is a widely accepted truism that Islam united state and faith more strongly than any Christian society except possibly the Byzantine Empire. Yet the implications of this subtle relationship have not yet been thoroughly explored. In the Qur'ān there is recited the story of the bitter rejection of the Prophet Muḥammad by the Jewish tribes of Medina. Muḥammad in Medina united the roles of civil governor of the town, military leader of the Muslims against their enemies, and the messenger of God's revelations. The Jews rejected him in all three

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[1] A version of this paper was read at the 117th Meeting of the American Society of Church History in Chicago, 1974. My thanks to Professor Robert Healey of the University of Dubuque for his help in preparing this paper and to the suggestions of Professor William Haddad of Illinois State University and Mrs. Camille Griffith of the University of Chicago.

[2] W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (London : Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 216-218.

capacities. After their cooperation with his pagan enemies became clear, he expelled them from Medina; in some cases they were executed.[2]

In the early Muslim states Jews and Christians were tolerated. Because they were felt to have altered and neglected their own revelations and rejected those of Islam they were, however, considered inferior to Muslims. Islam was held to contain within its message the underlying, true monotheism which had been distorted by the People of the Book. The striking successes of the Caliphate in its jihads, the expansion of Islam in the mediaeval period to include new areas in India and Africa, the brilliance of the Ottoman-Safavid-Mughal Empires in early modern history—all these combined to reinforce the pride of most Muslims. They believed that Islam was destined to expand to all the world, that God supported the naturally superior Muslims against their inferior enemies, that only in a Muslim state fully enforcing religious law could one lead a truly Islamic life. The Arabs as the first converts to Islam were *par excellence* believers in its glory.[3]

The Muslims of Palestine

Palestine [4] has provided the arena for the two greatest challenges to the belief in Islamic victory. First during the Crusader period, then during the twentieth century, Christians and Jews have taken it away from Muslim control. In the thirteenth century Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī and his successors recaptured Palestine for the Muslims who held it for the next six hundred years. Many Arab Muslims await the arrival of the new Salāḥ al-Dīn to unite the Arab Muslims and expel the Zionist Crusaders.

When the Palestine Muslims ruled the areas, they were the custodians of a number of holy sites. Jerusalem is held to have been the place from which Muḥammad ascended to Heaven, a tradition still

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[3] For H. A. R. Gibb the Arabs are those people "for whom the central fact of history is the mission of Mohammed and the memory of the Arab Empire..." and the Arabic language and culture. He is quoted in Esco Foundation, *Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), I, 429. The history of early Islam is crucial to Arabism and even to those Arabs who are not Muslims.

[4] The quantity of work on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli problem is very large. For the period before 1948 perhaps the two most useful books for a study of the relationship between Muslims and Jews and Christians are Guy Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems* (reprinted Beirut: Khayat's, 1965) and William R. Polk, *et al.*, *Backdrop to Tragedy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957).

commemorated throughout the Muslim world every year. The Masjid al-Aqṣā and the Dome of the Rock, the tombs of the Prophets in Hebron, and the areas associated with Jesus are all venerated by Muslims. When Palestine came under English rule after World War I, the Muslim Arabs of Palestine felt a sense of shame and humiliation at the loss of control over those holy places. Not only was Jerusalem, the third holiest Muslim city, under Christian control, but the Mandatory authority had pledged itself to create a Jewish National Home in Palestine. As the years of British control went by, the Muslims of Palestine seemed to face a future of domination by Jewish foreigners with no prospect for peaceful alternatives.

Communal-religious tension between Muslim and Christian Arabs on the one hand and Jewish Zionists on the other led to a series of riots and incidents from 1919 on, culminating in the civil war of 1936-1939. The leadership of the Palestinians between the World Wars fell to Ḥājj Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥusaynī, the Mufti of Jerusalem. Ḥājj Amīn (1897-1974) was from a family of Jerusalem notables. He had received a religious education at al-Azhar in Cairo before being appointed by the British as Mufti in 1921 (the Ḥusaynī family were already the custodians of the Nabī Mūsā shrine), and he soon gained control of all the Muslim institutions of Palestine despite strong resistance from other notable families opposed to the Ḥusaynīs. In 1922 he became president of the Supreme Muslim Council and thereby supervised *waqf* revenues and appointments. His position was recognized internationally when he was elected head of the World Islamic Congress which met in Jerusalem in 1931. The Ḥusaynīs were aligned in the 1930s with the Roman Catholics whose Christian opponents chose other Muslim leaders for counter-alliances. The 1936-1939 fighting was begun spontaneously by Muslim peasants, but Ḥajj Amīn came to head the Higher Arab Committee which directed the non-violent side of the struggle against the British.

Probably guilty of assisting the rebels, he was exiled from Palestine. During World War II he worked on behalf of the Nazis, broadcasting to the Arabs against the British. Although he was not discredited among the Arabs by this, other Palestinian leaders assumed a more important role under Egyptian tutelage following 1948. In that year Ḥājj Amīn's All-Palestine Government at Gaza was formally recognized by all Arab states except Jordan. Its failure to keep the support of the Palestinians and the annexation of the West Bank of the Jordan River by Amīr ʿAbd Allāh effectively ended the claims of Ḥājj Amīn to represent all of Palestine. He was, however, later named president of the World Islamic Conferences in Karachi in

1951 and in Baghdad in 1962.[5] The Mufti Ḥājj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī therefore represented the familiar Islamic case of a religious leader whose primary activities were 'political' (in a European sense), not excluding violence as a method of achieving change. He steadfastly opposed all attempts at compromise with either the English or the Zionists, opting instead for an intransigent independence which ultimately failed.

The Palestine where Ḥajj Amīn was so influential was, before the creation of Israel in 1948, predominantly Arab and inside that linguistic group, primarily Muslim. About 90 percent of the Arabs were Sunni Muslims. They were deeply divided among themselves by family rivalries and the beginnings of class and cultural fragmentations.[6] From the highly Westernized wealthy urban notable of Jerusalem it was a long way to the traditionally oriented poor peasant living in a village. According to Zionists, nationalism and religious identity were manipulated by the Muslim ruling class to mobilize the peasantry in support of goals which had little meaning to them personally. The validity of this argument is impossible to judge now; the fervor with which it is espoused, however, seems to ignore the depth of religious identity.

Other potential differences that Zionists sought to exploit in Palestine were Christian-Muslim antipathies. The Muslims took pains to try to overcome potential splits by including Christians in important positions. One fourth of the delegates to the Seventh Palestine Congress of 1928, for instance, were Christians.[7] Muslim and Christian Palestinian refugees have worked together in the guerrilla organizations of the 1960s. In order to maintain Christian support and cooperation it is likely that the religious nature of opposition to Zionism has been downplayed by Muslims.

Palestinian Arab nationalism and Muslim common identity are inextricably mingled; it is impossible and unrealistic to attempt to analyze one without the other. Following 1948 Palestinian Arab nationalists have opposed the Zionist control of Palestine itself as well as what is seen as the Israeli support of Western imperialism. Many Arab Muslims in Israel object to Jewish rule of Muslims *per se*,

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[5] *Who's Who in the Arab World* (3rd ed.; Beirut: Publitec, 1971-1972), p. 1280; George Kirk, *The Middle East, 1945-1950* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 286; David Waines, *The Unholy War: Israel and Palestine, 1897-1971* (Willmette, Illinois: Medina University Press, 1971), p. 125; Esco Foundation, *Palestine*, I, 466.

[6] William Quandt, Fuad Jabber and Ann Mosely Lesch, *The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

[7] Esco Foundation, *Palestine*, I, 487.

to the perceived immorality of the social customs of Westernized Israelis (particularly immodesty in sexual matters),[8] and to being considered second-class citizens in their own land. Many Muslims also object to the anomaly of Jews being responsible for the appointment of Muslim religious judges and celebrants of marriage. The question of State control of waqfs is also a potential source of tension. On the other hand, the leadership of al-Fatah and the Palestine Liberation Organization have not publicly exploited these matters; instead they are said to have strongly opted for a secular state which would ignore religion.[9] A secular Palestinian state created after the return of the refugees would presumably have a small Muslim Arab majority. Since the existence of such a state seems to depend more upon the actions of others than upon the Palestinians, their public statements may be aimed at gaining support abroad rather than representation of the thoughts and feelings of refugees. Even less may be deduced from these statements about the emotions and ideas of the Arabs still living under Israeli control.

Islam in Egypt and the Palestine Problem

Since the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924, the Muslim world community has lacked any spokesman or hierarchy which could represent it by common consent. No one man or group can speak for all Muslims. The Arab League is not an exclusively Muslim group because it includes Lebanon. A possible Muslim voting block in the United Nations is not complete because of the foreign policies of Turkey and Iran. Strictly speaking, therefore, there are as many Muslim opinions about the Arab-Israeli dispute as there are informed Muslims. However, Egypt as the largest and most powerful Arab state has been the leader both of Arab nationalism and of the fighting against Israel.

In the course of the 1948-1949 fighting, Egyptian *'ulamā'* were faced with the question of Holy War. From the first days of Islam wars in defense of the faith or wars to expand the Islamic state were considered not only morally right but also a religious and political duty for every capable Muslim. Jihād was one of the most important aspects of Muslim states in their relations with non-Muslim societies

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[8] While visiting the Ḥaram al-Sharif in 1974 a Muslim notable of Jerusalem told me that the clothing Jewish tourists wore while visiting the Mosque was for him a continual reminder of the injustices suffered by the Palestinians.

[9] Leila S. Kadi (ed.), *Basic Political Documents of the Armed Palestinian Resistance Movement* (Beirut: P.L.O. Research Center, 1969), pp. 74-76.

up to the modern period. Modern apologists and secularists have opposed the use of the term 'jihād' in relation to wars or have sought to broaden its meaning so as to remove a purely religious definition.[10]

In 1948 the 'ulamā' of al-Azhar University had to decide whether the fighting in Palestine was a jihād. For most Arab Sunnis as well as many other Muslims, the theological faculty at al-Azhar represented the most informed and authoritative source of religious doctrine and opinions in the world. In a joint statement the Azhari 'ulamā' and their leader, Muḥammad Ma'mūn al-Shināwī, called all Arab and non-Arab Muslims to a war to free Palestine from the Zionists. The path to justice lay in fighting on behalf of God to rescue the holy places of Islam. United Nations partition of the British Mandate of Palestine was not binding because the land was the absolute property (*mulk*) of the Arabs and the Muslims and did not belong to any foreign or international body.[11] The Mufti of Egypt concurred in the Azhar opinion. In an official ruling Ḥusayn Muḥammad Makhlūf declared in April, 1948, that "jihād in Palestine is a sacred duty (*shar'ī*) for those capable..." of fighting Jewish Zionism.[12] The Egyptian 'ulamā' saw the war in Palestine as a case of Arabs struggling to protect their own land from aggression. They urged the Muslims to remember the battle of Badr in A.D. 624 when they won their first significant victory against pagans.[13]

The failure of the Egyptian and other Arab armies in the 1948 war led to the overthrow of the regimes which had so disastrously mismanaged them. The new leader of Egypt in 1953, Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir, subsequently became the single most influential man in the Arab world. Egypt was, therefore, in a sense *de facto* spokesman for Sunni Arabs. Although by all appearances a devout Muslim, President 'Abd al-Nāṣir utilized Islamic institutions primarily for internal purposes rather than in his foreign policy.[14] In both external and inter-

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[10] D. B. Macdonald, "Djihād," *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1st ed.), 1041-1042; E. Tyan, "Djihād," *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed.), II, 538-540; Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1967), p. 37. As late as 1969 King Fayṣal of Saudi Arabia called for a jihād to liberate Jerusalem from Zionist control after the al-Aqṣā fire. "Chronology," *The Middle East Journal*, XXIV, 1 (1970), 47.

[11] (Al-Azhar), *Fatāwā Khaṭīra fī Wujūb al-Jihād al-Dīni al-Muqaddas* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Salafiyya, 1948), pp. 3-6.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 11-26.

[14] See the illuminating essays of Fayez Sayigh, "Islam and Neutralism," and P. J. Vatikiotis, "Islam and the Foreign Policy of Egypt," in J. Harris Proctor (ed.), *Islam and International Relations* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965).

nal affairs he was primarily a nationalist and, later in his career, a pragmatic socialist rather than a man of religion. In his speeches there was far less mention of religion than in those of Colonel Qadhāfī of Libya, the current upholder of the role of Islam in both internal and international affairs. For 'Abd al-Nāṣir the struggle against Israel was a continuation of the long battle of modern Egypt against Western imperialism. Egypt, in his view, was defending itself as well as fighting for justice, Arab nationalism, and the rights of the Palestinian people. He argued that differences of religion should not divide the Arabs when confronted by a common enemy: "When we, Muslims and Christians, were fighting the battle of Palestine, enemy bullets never discriminated between Muslims and Christians. We were all fighting for the sake of Arabism.... We have at all times felt and and believed that religion is for God and that the fatherland belongs to all...." [15]

'Abd al-Nāṣir's secular nationalism was widely shared in Egypt. He did not hesitate, on the other hand, to urge primarily religious institutions to provide support for Egyptian foreign policy. The Academy of Islamic Research, which included delegates from a number of Muslim countries, provided a forum for mobilizing world opinion against Israel. Ḥusayn al-Shāfi'ī, Vice-President of Egypt, addressing the Academy in 1965, said that Israel threatened Arabism which was the "strong base" of Islam. The wrath of God would fall upon falterers and deserters who did not oppose Israel fully. In 1968 he cited the example of the 'ulamā' who helped Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn while urging the Academy to prepare for a new war.[16]

An example of the Academy's own position may be found in the Recommendations adopted at its conference in 1965. They included, *inter alia*, the following:

> This Conference regards the Palestine issue as one concerning Muslims since it is closely linked with their common religion, history and heritage. The Muslims shall not rest till the return of the Holy Land to its rightful owners. The existence of Israel constitutes a danger to the Farthest Mosque (al-Aqṣā) and the way to the two Holy shrines of Mecca and Medina, including the

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[15] Egypt. Information Department, *President Gamal Abdel Nasser on Palestine* (Cairo: n.p., n.d.), p. 39.

[16] Al-Azhar. Academy of Islamic Research, *Second Conference* (Cairo: National Publication House, 1965), p. 16; *idem.*, *Fourth Conference* (Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing, 1970), pp. 7-10.

> way to the tomb of the Prophet..., thus making it incumbent to liberate the Palestine land and safeguard the Holy Lands to perform the religious rites of all Muslims all over the world. For this reason, the defense of Palestine and the efforts for its liberation constitute an obligation upon every Muslim, and the shirking of this responsibility is a great sin.[17]

At the same conference a member of the Academy from Palestine, Isḥaq Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī, a relative of the Mufti, provided a more detailed explanation of reasons why Muslims should oppose Israel. His arguments were based upon Qur'anic and Biblical condemnations. This approach was not unique to al-Ḥusaynī. At the Fourth Conference of the Academy of Islamic Research in 1968 several other 'ulamā' also argued that the Jewish people were condemned by God in their own holy writings.

According to al-Ḥusaynī, God had cursed the Israelites in the Qur'ān. The contemporary Zionists had now usurped Palestine. "They have dispersed its peaceful inhabitants, desecrated its sanctity, wiped out its mosques and cemeteries, obliterated its landmarks in order to establish a racially fanatic, despotic state." [18] Zionism was based on three false assumptions: (1) The Jews were God's chosen people, (2) God promised them they would return to Palestine, (3) It was their lawful right to restore the Jewish Kingdom there. Al-Ḥusaynī rejects the chosen people argument on the grounds of God's condemnations and rebukes of the Jews in the Old Testament, particularly in the Book of Jeremiah, and in the Qur'ān. God's promises to the Jews were annulled by their supposed sins after the reigns of David and Solomon. Muslims in general with many Christians agreed that the Jews of Jesus' time were responsible for convincing the Romans to kill him. Al-Ḥusaynī suggests that the Jews were guilty then and now; Catholic attempts to exonerate all the Jews from responsibility for the acts of Jews of two thousand years ago were mistaken. The lawful, historical right of the Jews to Palestine also lapsed because of their absence from the land. Muslim rule up to 1918 had lasted longer than Jewish control in Palestine. Also, the Muslim's rights in Spain had similarly lapsed after five hundred years of Christian control there. Just as the Christian people of Spain would oppose

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[17] Al-Azhar, *Second Conference*, p. 329.

[18] Isḥaq Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī, "Palestine and Israel," Al-Azhar, *Second Conference*, p. 71.

an attempt to restore Muslim control, so should the Muslims in Palestine resist Zionism which sought to restore Jewish power.[19]

Zionists were so "imbued with an aggressive spirit inspired by their religion" that they posed a danger to the whole of Islam.[20] Fortunately, al-Ḥusaynī says, God sent President 'Abd al-Nāṣir whose victories forced the Israelis to withdraw from Egyptian territory in 1956-1957.

On the other hand, al-Ḥusaynī acknowledges the validity of the Jewish religion. Islam should protect the rights of the People of the Book now as it has done in the past. In the days of the Spanish Inquisition Jews sought and found refuge with the Islamic countries. They have, however, repaid the toleration shown them in the East by turning their hatred of Western persecutors such as the Nazis against the Arabs. The "human tragedy of racial discrimination" and the Nazi persecutions of the Jews did not lead to the growth of tolerance among the Jews. Instead they turned against their Arab hosts in Palestine. Al-Ḥusaynī says that only if the Muslims are united and follow the spirit of Islam will God restore the victories which were, in Islam's early days, won against even greater odds.[21]

Following the Arab military defeat in 1967 the Fourth Conference of the Academy of Islamic Research devoted several sessions to analyzing the role of religion in the Arab-Israeli struggle. In addition to endorsing the call for jihād that had been issued by other meetings, the 1968 Conference participants emphasized that holy war was incumbent upon all Muslims. Those not living in the front-line countries should help in non-military ways. To refuse to mobilize all effort was a sin, according to the Secretary-General of the Academy, 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd.[22]

The origins of what was felt to be Jewish hatred of Islam were traced by several authors back to the time of the Prophet Muḥammad. A stereotypical image of Jews as possessing a number of undesirable qualities was advanced by, among others, a Syrian mufti and a professor of mediaeval history at Cairo University.[23]

To bring about the success of Islam the help of the state was a necessity. "Religions have to be shielded by power to ward off the

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[19] Al-Ḥusaynī, "Palestine," Al-Azhar, *Second Conference*, pp. 72-76.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

[22] Al-Azhar, *Fourth Conference*, p. 32.

[23] See the articles of 'Abd al-Sattār al-Sayyid and Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr in *ibid.*

mischief wrought by aggressors, so that righteousness might not be blotted out." [24] The Rector of al-Azhar, Ḥasan Ma'mūn, said that ultimately the Believers would win, even if only after the full expiation of the sins and guilt that had been responsible, in his opinion, for the 1967 defeat. The bitter remedy that God had imposed upon the Muslims should lead to a change in their behavior and then victory would ensue.[25]

The impassioned arguments and sometimes violent terminology employed by al-Ḥusaynī and others show the deep emotional involvement of at least some Muslims in the Palestine problem. For the 'ulamā' of al-Azhar in 1948 and those assembled at the Conferences of the Academy of Islamic Research politics and religion were combined in many spheres of life which the secular nationalists such as President 'Abd al-Nāṣir would restrict solely to Arab nationalist or socialist ideology and *raison d'état*. Yet theological argumentation does not seem to have played a major role in the Arab-Israeli conflicts. However, the 'ulamā' may well reflect the opinions of the devout masses in Sunni Arab society who are still largely outside the secularists' reach.

Among the Palestinian Muslims the early leadership of the nationalist movement by Ḥājj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī gave a prominence to the role of Muslim institutions and 'ulamā' which was not manifested in developments in Palestine and Israel after 1948. For Palestinian Muslims subsequent leadership has come not from the 'ulamā' but primarily from the urban elites and a new middle class. Indeed, Ḥājj Amīn's power itself may have been based more upon his membership in the Ḥusaynī family than upon the importance of his religious posts.

Palestinians have feared that discussion of religion might enflame potential Christian-Muslim differences or seem to put them in the position of opposing Judaism rather than Zionism. This sensitivity has obscured an aspect of the Palestine tragedy which is central to its full solution. An exploration of the relationship of the three monotheistic faiths may serve the cause of peace both by creating a greater sense of reality and possibly finding common bases for agreement among those who hold the holy places of Palestine sacred.

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[24] Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Zahra, "The Jihād," *ibid.*, p. 50.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

BOOK REVIEWS

Trois Œuvres inédites de mystiques musulmans : šaqīq al-Balḫī, Ibn 'Aṭā, Niffarī. By Paul Nwyia. Beirut: Dar al-Machreq Éditeurs, 1973. 344 pp. n.p.

In this volume Dr. Nwyia has edited several unpublished manuscripts of three great Sufis.

I. These include two essays by Shaqīq al-Balkhī (d. 194/810), *Ādāb al-'Ibādāt* and *Manāzil al-Ṣidq*, works already commented on by Dr. Nwyia in his *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique* (Beirut, 1970). They are too brief to give us a comprehensive understanding of al-Balkhī's thought. However, the fact that they are among the earliest extant writings of a Sufi renders them extremely siginficant, as they provide us with a source of the range of Sufi vocabulary in its developmental stage and give some evidence that supports the theory of the Islamic origin of Sufism.

They provide an exposition of the method of attaining a relationship with God. The path is perceived as consisting of four stages—asceticism, fear of God, yearning for paradise, and the love of God. Although al-Balkhī discusses them in an ascending order and believes that they are contingent on one another, he does allow that the seeker may indeed abide in one stage and be well rewarded. Meanwhile, it is the abiding in the love of God that is the ultimate goal, as it is the highest, the noblest, and the most majestic. God does not bring one to this station until one's heart is strengthened by true certitude and superb works, and until one has achieved moral and ethical perfection.

II. *Tafsīr Ibn 'Aṭā* (d. 309/922). This work has been extracted from *Ḥaqā'iq al-Tafsīr* of al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021). It is the longest work included in this volume and has also been discussed by Dr. Nwyia in his *Exégèse coranique*. It is neither systematic nor comprehensive in nature; rather, it is a personal Sufi interpretation of selected verses from the different suras that address themselves to the author. They present a valuable source of information on the importance of the Qur'ān in providing a worldview and a sanctioned field of spiritual experience for the Sufi.

III. Al-Niffarī's works are of a still different nature. They include: (a) *Kitāb al-Mawāqif* (written 366/979), (b) *Ajzā' Mutafarriqa*, (c) *Qism al-Ḥikam*, (d) *Mawāqif al-Munājayāt* (written 359/970), and (e) *Bāb al-Khawāṭir wa-Maqāla fī al-Maḥabba* (written 353/964). Unlike al-Balkhī's and Ibn 'Aṭā's works, al-Niffarī's are an attempt to express the ineffable in human language, for the Sufi in this case is addressed by God. Consequently, the language and style are ambiguous, vague, and enigmatic. The vocabulary is not that of the familiar Qur'ān; rather, it is new and symbolic, for it can only give pointers (*ishāra*) to a reality that is beyond the experience of the uninitiated.

Dr. Nwyia provides a brief preface (in both Arabic and French) and gives an introduction (in French) to each work, with a critical

description and evaluation of each manuscript, as well as a detailed and analytical table of contents (pp. 325-343). He has rendered an invaluable service to Sufi studies through his edition of these texts by thus making them available to the general student.

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The Formative Period of Islamic Thought. By W. Montgomery Watt. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973. 318 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. $12.50.

A short review of W. Montgomery Watt's *Formative Period of Islamic Thought* can hardly do justice to the scope, content or method of the book. As a survey, encyclopedic in sweep, of the development of Muslim theological thinking from the earliest controversies to the "Triumph of Sunnism" in the tenth century, the book is admirable. Both the detail and the inclusiveness of its coverage are overwhelming.

Watt's perspective seems twofold: first, a self-announced "radical critique" of the heresiological sources in the light of Watt's own understanding of the sociology of knowledge—although one might rather suggest that despite the author's early acknowledgment of attachment to the Mannheim school of the sociology of knowledge (cf. *Islam and the Integration of Society*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1961, p. 2), his actual perspective is the politics of knowledge. Second, although obviously very closely related to the first, is the continued insistence on seeing Islamic thought for itself, as having developed not simply under the influence of Christian theology or Greek thought, but out of the real concerns of the Muslim community. As such, the book is a continuation of the insights evident in earlier works such as *Freewill and Predestination in Early Islam*, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, and others.

Watt has long held for a view of the development of Muslim thought independent of initial impulses from outside Islam—thus falling within the school of thought which differs sharply from that more traditional ascription to Christian sources which marks (or mars) perhaps the majority of treatments. As is well known by readers of any of his previous books dealing with the subject, Watt aligns the growth of theological speculation in Islam closely with political and societal movements, conflicts and controversies. Nor can it be denied that his case is in the main both compelling and convincing on the basis of the historical data adduced in support.

Ever since the subject was first broached, scholars have in many fields been acutely aware of the close relations between the prevailing climates of society and the development of particular normative schools of thought. Watt's book presents an eloquent plea for Islamic scholarship to take this seriously in study of the sources upon which the portrayal of Islam depends.

Some questions might be raised concerning his choice of title: Why not be more specific? Is it really Muslim theological thought that is dealt with, rather than simply thought in general? However, it seems undeniable that, mysticism apart, the intellectual endeavors of peculiarly Muslim impulse (which is to exclude medicine, optics, chemistry, astronomy, etc., as being initially extra-Islamic in origin) marking the growth of thought in Islam cannot be indicated simply by reference to "theology" or even *kalām*.

The danger in identifying kalām with theology in the Western, Christian sense is well known; and Watt has been careful in attempting to maintain the distinction. While never ignoring the similarities, he has avoided the easy temptation of simple translation which mars so many Western orientalists' studies of Muslim thought.

The Formative Period as an historical encyclopedia omits few, if any, of the major and minor figures contributing to the growth and development of Islamic doctrines. In the main, the treatment is even-handed, paying careful attention to sources in their political and historical context. This attention to detail does prevent an immediate—and perhaps debilitating—schematic view of all the interrelationships, or of an easy quasi-Hegelian pattern of the development. At the same time, the close attention to political affairs and their stimulation of intellectual effort does provide a means of overview perhaps more closely allied to the reality than to possible ideal views.

As early as 1903, the Scottish-American scholar Duncan Black Macdonald called for a treatment of Islamic thought and civilization which held together the three strands of kalām, jurisprudence and political thought (cf. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1903, p. 2). His own work represents an effort so to do. However, Watt's book goes much further in fulfilling Macdonald's hope that the student "... then labor to merge these three sections again into one another" (p. 5). Watt's integration is admirable, albeit difficult to deal with adequately simply because of the need for repetition forced by his subject divisions. As note above, the synthesis achieved prevents a too easy schematization of Islamic thought; but at the same time it can contribute to a hearty dose of confusion by its vastness. There may, in the last analysis, be no real solution to the dilemma of how adequately to combine historical survey with careful period critical study and presentation. The flow of event is not always amenable to dissection for the purpose of discovery of conceptualization. However, the insights of the sociology of knowledge may, as in the case of Watt's writings, provide important clues to the means of carrying on such simultaneous efforts.

Because of the vastness of its detail, the wide range of its subject, and the obvious care with which the total description has been constructed, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* will remain an extremely valuable, useful, and important contribution to the field for years to come. As a model for possible presentational approach, it may even outlive its interpretive contents. However, it remains a book not for the beginner nor for the undergraduate save with careful

guidance. The profusion of information and the sheer massiveness of its presentation as well as the unfortunate format of its footnote apparatus make it more valuable to the specialist or the instructor who wishes a source whereby detail may be filled in. This is not a negative feature (save in respect of the footnotes which, being at the end of the book as in other books from Edinburgh, remain difficult to get at conveniently), but one meant only to point to probable use by readers. The book deserves very careful attention, and much rereading. It may be reliably turned to for answers to a multitude of questions which inevitably arise from the study of Muslim and Islamic thought.

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The Arab Mind. By Raphael Patai. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973. 376 pp. $ 12.50.

The dust jacket of this book describes it as "a lucid and fully-rounded portrait of one of the world's great cultures which has traditionally been underestimated and misunderstood by the West." Yet no sooner does the reader plunge into its pages than he encounters a systematic denigration of Arabic culture and personality. The Arab is presented as a creature of fantasies and emotions: spoiled at childhood, bemused by the figures of speech of his own language, given to exaggeration and boasting, obsessed with the forbidden fruit of sex and with a sexually focused code of honor, intent on cultivating a favorable outward appearance without real accomplishment, given to uncontrollable fits of frustration and aggression, full of hatred for the West, for his fellow-Arabs, for himself, and incapable of coping with the problems of his society.

Blessed with such friendly interpreters as Professor Patai, one wonders what need the Arabs have for enemies. For his whole approach is one not so much of offering a "rounded" portrait as of conducting an exercise in psychopathology—which is to say that he begins with the implicit assumption that the task at hand is to explore the underlying reasons for the Arabs' perversities and shortcomings.

This pattern begins almost at the outset, as Professor Patai informs us that the best Arab scholars have always been "astute observers of their overall national character," and then goes on to offer quotations from Ibn Khaldūn (the Arabs "are a savage nation, fully accustomed to savagery and the things that cause it") and Maqrīzī (the Egyptians are characterized by "inconstancy, indecision, indolence, cowardice, despondency, avarice, impatience, disdain of study, fearfulness, jealousy, slander, falsehood, readiness to denounce others to the king and to accuse them...") (pp. 20-21).

The more interesting and yet controversial chapters are those of the first half of the book dealing with anthropological matters: child-rearing, psycholinguistics, "the Bedouin subsgtratum," sex, emotions, religion. Professor Patai is indisputably a man of wide learn-

ing and presents a wealth of interesting data and interpretation, notably concerning the recurrent pattern of contrasts and polarities of controlled and uncontrolled behavior in various areas (e.g., sexual modesty v. indulgence, hospitality v. hostility, humility v. pride, serenity v. anger) which foreign observers and Arab intellectuals alike have long remarked. Better than many others, Professor Patai has related these qualities to each other and indicated that they reflect not "confusion," as some may suppose, but a deliberate cultural preference for emphasizing ideal forms over pragmatic realities in certain situations.

Yet to this reviewer, much of his analysis is arbitrary and nit-picking. In his chapter "Under the Spell of Language," for example, he goes to great lengths to show that the modalities and structure of Arabic expression cause its users to confuse wish and fact, and to be relatively unconcerned with precision and sequence of time. Quite apart from numerous inaccuracies in his interpretation of Arabic expressions, the author surely is leaping at conclusions, and mistaking cause for effect in imagining that it is language structure that makes ignorant villagers oblivious to considerations of time (p. 70). Again, elsewhere one may wonder how the author can speak with such certainty about "the all-encompassing preoccupation with sex in the Arab mind" (p. 125).

The author is quick to apply his observations about the Arab "modal personality" to the realm of politics, with superficial and unconvincing results. Thus he tells us that when on June 5, 1967, President Nasser and Marshal Amer misinformed King Hussein about the progress of fighting with Israel, they "were not able to behave differently from the way they did. Their cultural conditioning left them no choice but to 'save face.' " Even more remarkably, he goes on to say that Hussein was misled because he "lost during his formative years spent in England, the ear for catching the meaning behind the words which is an indispensable prerequisite of true communication among Arabs..." (pp. 103-106).

Again, does it really aid understanding to write: "As a widely read Arab friend of mine once remarked in a critical vein, both the Japanese and the Arabs are ready to kill in order to regain their lost honor, but the Japanese will kill himself, while the Arab will kill somebody else" (pp. 211-212)? And why, in his chapter on conflict resolution, does he consider the Arab practice of holding conferences of parties to disputes as a fault (p. 238)?

A concluding chapter on "The Psychology of Westernization" offers some interesting citations of the views of various Arab writers but fails like the previous sections of the book to move much beyond the realm of fault-finding and patronization, focusing heavily as it does on signs of Arab hostility and suspicion of the West.

On the whole, one can only regret that an author of Professor Patai's considerable stature should have indulged in such a hatchet job, under the guise of scholarship and intercultural understanding. We do need more literature in Arab anthropology and social psychology,

but it will be better done by those who are free of political preoccupations of their own.

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MALCOLM H. KERR

A'lām al-Adab al-Mu'āṣir fī Miṣr (Bio-bibliographical Critical Series), **No. 1, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn.** By Hamdi Sakkut and Marsden Jones. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1975. 342 pp.

This is the first volume in a series of over a hundred planned by the authors to present the notables of contemporary Arabic literature in Egypt. The main concern of the series is to offer short biographical notices, critical evaluations, and classified bibliographies, the aim being to encourage proper research and save the scholar's time and effort.

Volume I of the series is on Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889-1973). It begins with a short biography (16 pp.) which leans heavily on Ḥusayn's autobiography, *al-Ayyām*. Then it proceeds to a critical study and evaluation of a selection of the man's works (43 pp.). The rest of the volume is occupied with a listing of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's books and articles, and of works in Arabic and other languages by others having to do with him.

In their evaluation, the authors argue that Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was more of a literary historian than a literary critic since his literary criticism is shown to be impressionistic and bogged down with language issues, his sensitivity and good taste being its only redeeming qualities. His creative fictional writings are shown to have several technical shortcomings and to be burdened with their author's social message, though written poetically and attractively. His contribution to the educational philosophy of Egypt is portrayed as not original, though effective and useful. His writings on Islamic history are said to be a popularization of certain episodes of the Islamic past; even his two-volume work, *al-Fitna al-Kubrā*, which is accepted as his best in the field of history, is shown to be lacking, especially in its tendency for bold generalizations and its unprofessional use of the sources. Notwithstanding, the authors conclude that Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's high position should be ascribed to a combination of all his achievements and the fact that they were realized in spite of his blindness.

Though not everybody will agree with the author's evaluation of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, no one will deny their great efforts in putting the bibliography together. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's books, articles, and other works are arranged chronologically, including his twenty-three poems, works he edited or translated, introductions he wrote, and interviews he gave. This is followed by a listing of books and articles wholly or partly about him, arranged chronologically and not alphabetically by authors' names.

Extensive and thorough as the bibliography is, it does not mention the publishers of the books cited but is satisfied with the place and date of publication only. As for articles, it does not give the pages of

the periodicals in which the articles appear except if they are in a language other than Arabic. Bibliographical entries are not annotated except rarely and inconsistently, and even then very briefly. Such minor matters do not detract from the overall value of the bibliography, but it is hoped they can be attended to in future volumes.

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A History of the Crusades. Kenneth M. Setton, general editor. **Volume III, The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,** edited by Harry W. Hazard. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1975. xxii plus 813 pp. $ 25.00.

With the publication of this volume and the announcement that Volume IV, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, is in the press and scheduled to appear in the spring of 1976, this monumental crusading history comes closer to completion. Current plans call for publication "without undue delay" of Volume V, *The Impact of the Crusades on Islam and Christendom*, and Volume VI, *An Atlas and Gazetteer of the Crusades*, to complete the project. All will welcome the University of Wisconsin Press' rapid advancement of this long-delayed venture and its splendid execution of the publisher's tasks. Like its predecessors, this volume is physically impressive with high-quality paper, sturdy bindings, ample margins, and nearly flawless printing. Twenty-one maps, a fifty-nine page gazetteer, a ten-page chronology of events, a seventy-eight page index, and copious bibliographies enhance its value as a reference work, while careful writing and editing give the chapters a uniformly high level of readability, enabling them to be read as a narrative. The thirteen authors of the eighteen chapters are (or were, four having died since writing) recognized authorities on their topics; rather than offering novel approaches they distil their expertise into relatively brief compass, making this volume a true monument of the present state of knowledge about the topics treated. But they also identify unanswered questions or topics meriting further study, and thus make the volume point ahead as well as back.

Praiseworthy though it is, the volume disappoints the reader concerned with Islam whose views of the topic and period are shaped by Aziz Atiya's works. His attention to pilgrims and propagandists, Eastern Christendom outside the Byzantine Empire, Latin missionary activity, and Eastern reaction to Western attacks is echoed only in the brief introductory and concluding chapters he contributed. Instead of separate chapters devoted to each Western expedition against Muslims—a pattern followed by Atiya and by the first two volumes of this *History*—the editors divide the chapters primarily according to geographical areas where crusaders settled or fought. And the narrative is relentlessly concerned with political, diplomatic and military activities to the exclusion of economic, social and intellectual affairs. The result is a volume totally unlike Atiya's.

Moreover, the volume devotes little attention to Christian-Muslim encounter. Two chapters treat the German crusade on the Baltic and the crusades against the Hussites and attest the viciousness of Germanic crusading in Europe. Two chapters each on the Catalans in Greece, the Morea, the Kingdom of Cyprus and the Hospitallers at Rhodes focus on internal politics in those areas; only in the final Rhodian chapter, by Ettore Rossi, and a lengthy chapter by Julian Bishko on the Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest do relations (hostile) with Muslims become prominent. Two chapters by Deno Geanakoplos on Byzantium and the crusades and another by Denis Sinor on the Mongols and Western Europe focus on negotiations seeking the incompatible goals of joint military action against Muslims and acceptance of Roman Catholic Christianity, but emphasize the views of the Byzantines and Mongols rather than offering a purely Western viewpoint. Atiya's two chapters and one each by Harry Hazard on Muslim North Africa and Mustafa Ziada on the Mamluk Sultans total only ninety-nine pages—fewer than the two European crusade chapters or the two on the Catalans. And there is, surprisingly, no chapter on the Ottomans; it is to appear in Volume V.

Atiya presents some highlights of crusade propaganda and the Nicopolis and Varna expeditions from his books, Ziada offers sketches of several significant Mamluk sultans and their reigns, and Hazard provides a competent survey of Maghrib developments. None breaks new ground, all remind us how little studied these topics are. Thus Atiya again urges attention to the Islamic counter-crusade, Hazard laments the lack of an English-language scholarly history of North Africa, and Ziada cites only Wiet and Stanley Lane-Poole as Western writers on Mamluk Egypt. Hazard, however, neglects to note the growing revisionist historiography in North Africa which scores the University of Algiers circle of French historians for their colonialist bias—one would not know from his treatment, for example, of the vigorous dispute over the impact of the eleventh-century Arab migrations into the Maghrib. And Atiya, apparently content with the supplement to the 1965 reprint of his volume, supplies no bibliographies with his chapters. Perhaps most valuable for readers of *The Muslim World* will be Bishko's chapter on the Iberian *reconquista*, a rare extended English-language treatment of a subject which yet awaits its historian.

Thus the volume is certainly important for those interested in the crusades with all their ramifications and manifestations, and deservedly merits the epithet monumental. For those interested in Islam, however, it is a monument more likely to be admired than used, and to seem incomplete until the appearance of Volume V, with its projected attention to political and economic institutions, agricultural conditions, crusading propaganda, Western missions, religious minorities, and social history. The present volume, then, makes us desire even more fervently the forthcoming one and hope earnestly for its prompt publication.

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The Muslim Dilemma in India. By M. R. A. Baig. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PVT Ltd., 1974. xvi plus 168. $ 7.50.

The question of the adjustment of Indian Muslims in a predominantly Hindu India, in which the constitution and the present government proclaim it to be secular, has been the subject of various studies by several Indian Muslims and by others. The most outstanding work in this field was Dr. Abid Husain's *Destiny of Indian Muslims*, and recently there has been a short and interesting monograph by Dr. Mushirul Haqq.

Compared to these earlier works, the work under review is, as acknowledged by the author, much more "personal." As a former secretary to Jinnah whom he came to hate, and as a former Indian ambassador who interestingly enough is the brother of two Pakistani former ambassadors, Mr. M. R. A. Baig's approach betrays psychological tensions in this book, as in some of his articles published earlier in *Islam and the Modern Age*.

Baig's thesis is not new. He stresses the need of "change" in the political, social, and psychological outlook of the Indian Muslims. Condemning communalism, he rather confusedly commends "enlightened communalism" which he fails to define coherently. He describes the concern of the Indian Muslims for the preservation of the Muslim identity of the Muslim University at Aligarh or their concern for the preservation of Urdu, which is not only the common cultural language but also the principal Indian language in which their religious heritage is enshrined, as "Maginot Line mentality." Whereas there is considerable political common sense in his recommendation that the Indian Muslims should be competitively proficient in Hindi and the regional languages, his verdict on the attitude to Urdu in India is more emotional than factual: "Only Hindus of an ageing generation are still loyal; the script can find no place in the Indian pantheon of languages; and the fact that it is generally considered to be the language of Pakistan renders it suspect" (p. 144). This is being more royal than the King, at a juncture in modern Indian history when Mrs. Indira Gandhi is championing the cause of Urdu, when it is the official language in Jammu and Kashmir and the second language in several Indian states including Andhara Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, and when its position is being undermined by the growth of regionalism in various provinces of Pakistan.

Indian Muslims have, no doubt, to be loyal to India, to its professed secularism which is their only hope for decent survival and to adjust themselves to the economic, social and political pressures in India with much more flexibility than they have so far shown. But Mr. Baig's book, subjective and vituperative as it is, does not make much solid contribution towards that end.

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AZIZ AHMAD

Who is Maudoodi? By Maryam Jameelah. Lahore: Mohammad Yusuf Khan, 1973. 68 pp. Rs. 3.50. pa.

This book must be dismissed as another polemical attempt by Maryam Jameelah to propagate her own interpretation of Islam. A major part of it (pp. 1-34) is a new edition of her chapter on Maudoodi in *Islam in Theory and Practice* (Lahore, 1967, pp. 218-248), with very few additions and deletions. The rest of the book (pp. 34-68) brings the material up to date. It consists mainly of selected quotes from Maudoodi's writings and speeches strung together with brief transitional sentences or paragraphs in an effort to show continuity. Besides an implied miraculous event connected with his birth (probably to legitimize his being named the *mujaddid* of the twentieth century) there is very little in the book about who Maudoodi is. Despite the book's title, scholars seeking information about him will be disappointed. It is neither a biography nor an analytical study of the man, but rather Maudoodi expounding on issues and events signaling different points of crisis in modern Islam.

The author's aim as stated in the preface is to provide some knowledge about "the foremost standard-bearer of ... those who strive for the universal triumph of the Islamic order." This may help explain her choice of selections. They are arranged to provide a consistent attack on materialism, secularism, regionalism, nationalism, and socialism, indicating a constant rejection of the West and anything Western as inherently wrong. The triumph of the Islamic order is seen by the author as inevitable and as universal in scope. Thus Maudoodi's teachings and writings are seen as a diagnosis of the wrongs impeding this divine mission.

There is no attempt by Ms. Jameelah to show any growth or development in Maudoodi's ideas. In fact, any development or change is conceived as inherently wrong unless it is an attempt to recreate an Islamic state based on the Qur'ān and the Sharī'a. Thus ideal change is seen as a return to the "ideal" state established in Medina by the Prophet in the seventh century. Where problems arise in the contemporary Muslim world, their solution should be relegated to Maudoodi and other 'ulamā' who share his views. A study of Abul Ala Maudoodi still needs to be written. His influence is extensive among a large number of Muslims in Pakistan and elsewhere (fourteen of his books have been translated into Arabic and have had crucial significance for people in the Arab world, including Ḥasan al-Bannā). The influence of his supporters in bringing down several Pakistani governments must not be dismissed lightly, the ramifications of which are not adequately dealt with in this book. A controversial man, Maudoodi has been called "the most ominous representative of this trend back to religious conservatism. ... Clearly he is a normal member of the old school of ignorant, intolerant, repressive religionists" (W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, Lahore, 1943, pp. 176, 179). Yet by his admirers he is seen as "the twentieth-century intellectual giant, a spiritual saint, a dynamic visionary, a practical idealist and the symbol of Islamic renaissance in our times" (the publisher of Maudoodi's *Islam Today*, Karachi, 1968, p. 75).

Consistent with other of Ms. Jameelah's uncritical and rather superficial books, this treatment of one of the most interesting figures of contemporary Islam leaves much to be desired. A man who has evoked such a variety of responses from scholars and fellow Muslims as Maudoodi deserves a more objective, analytical, and scholarly study.

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WADI Z. HADDAD

A Tacit Alliance. By S. K. Crosbie. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974. 280 pp. $ 13.50.

The relationship between Israel and the Big Powers will undoubtedly continue to intrigue scholars, writers, and journalists for many decades to come. *A Tacit Alliance* focuses on Israel's relationship with only one of the Big Powers—France. France played a significant role in strengthening the foundations of the state of Israel after its creation in 1948. The book discusses in detail the period between 1956 and 1967, a period in which the ties and cooperation between Israel and France in military and scientific spheres had reached its apex. It stresses several points, two of which shall be discussed in this short review. Throughout, the author emphasizes the dominant role played by the Israeli defense establishment, not only in domestic politics, but also in foreign policy. In support of this, the author presents evidence which suggests that the plan to attack and invade Sinai in collusion with France and England was kept secret from most cabinet members until two days before the start of the invasion (p. 79). In addition, she suggests that there is ample evidence to prove the Israeli Foreign Office was for a long time in the dark about a 1954 agreement which the Israeli Defense Ministry reached with France to purchase Ouragan fighters, Mystère IIs, AMX tanks, radar equipment, 75 mm anti-tank missiles, and other weapons (p. 460). Requests for arms were made to France directly from the Defense Minister, bypassing the Foreign Office and the Ambassador in Paris (p. 100).

Another point focused upon is the change in the relationship between France and Israel in the Fourth and the Fifth Republics. The very special relationship between Israel and France in the Fourth Republic reverted to orthodox diplomacy and, on occasion, strain culminating in a final rupture in 1967 in the Fifth Republic. The author maintains that a high degree of fragmentation of authority in France's executive and legislative branches of government resulted in sporadic, inconsistent execution of policy, which worked to Israel's advantage, and served her interests extremely well. Israel was thus able to manipulate, lobby, and pressure herself into a special alliance with France. In this period, Israel relied almost exclusively on French armaments for its military and on French support in international affairs. Israel and France shared information and equipment, as well as new battle tactics. Israeli officers, pilots, and technicians attended French military

academies and specialist schools, while French observers went to Israel. Cooperation was also very close in other spheres. The intelligence services of the two countries worked together in exchanging information and documents. Chiefs of Staff met at least twice a year after Suez, once in Paris and once in Tel Aviv (pp. 106-107). It was during this period that Israel was able to lay the first solid foundation for its nuclear reactor at Dimona. However, in the Fifth Republic, under General Charles de Gaulle, the government became more centralized, leading to the deterioration of the relationship between the two countries. Centralization reduced Israeli ability to manipulate within the French system, and correspondingly, possibilities for cooperation decreased (p. 229). The resolution of the Algerian conflict in 1962 further reduced Israel's influence. During the Fourth Republic Israel had used the conflict to her advantage, by setting herself up as a good and reliable friend in an area populated by Arabs wishing to reduce France's influence there, and by offering useful new techniques in psychological warfare to help quell the revolution in Algeria. The resolution of this conflict removed an important obstacle blocking normal relationships between France and Arab countries, and the French government after 1962 has taken steps toward improving this relationship.

The author uses many sources to collect her data and document her analysis, including published books, articles, memoirs, and other official and unofficial documents. She has supplemented this with information obtained from extensive interviews with Israeli and French officials and others who in one form or another helped to shape the policy of both countries during the period discussed. *A Tacit Alliance* does not, however, provide any information not already available in published literature, nor is the author objective in her analysis. Ms. Crosbie is an Israeli citizen who has worked in the Israeli Foreign Ministry and taught in Israeli universities. She consistently takes a pro-Israel position. The discussion is, nevertheless, systematic, coherent, and readable.

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AYAD AL-QAZZAZ

SHORTER NOTICES

The Odyssey of Farah Anṭūn : A Syrian Christian's Quest for Secularism. By Donald M. Reid. Minneapolis & Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, Inc., 1975. xii plus 160 pp. Bibliography, Index. $ 12.50.

In line with his recent articles on the Christians of the Levant, Donald M. Reid offers us an excellent study of Farah Anṭūn (1874-1922), the Greek Orthodox Christian Arab from Tripoli who set out to Egypt to make it in the world. Unlike many of his fellowmen from greater Syria who became rich in Egypt, Farah Anṭūn did not. Donald M. Reid follows him in his tribulations and anguish, and traces his restless intellectual development as a publicist and an idealist who wanted to change the world but met with failure.

A self-made man, Anṭūn is shown to be consumed with the idea of eliminating religious and class distinctions in the Arab society of his time in order to put an end to all discriminations and inequalities. His readings in Western thought, particularly French (e.g., Ernest Renan, Jules Simon, Rousseau), made him import ideas of anti-clericalism, secularism, feminism, evolutionism, nationalism, and socialism. Whether in his novels, his translations, or his articles in his periodical *al-Jāmi'a* (1899-1910) and in others, his aim was to introduce thoughts adapted from the West that would help secularize Arab society.

In his time, few Christians and fewer Muslims agreed with Anṭūn. The debate that he had in 1902-1903 with Muḥammad 'Abduh on Ibn Rushd and that branched out to a discussion on Islam and its attitude to science and to man's freedom gives an idea of how little Anṭūn impressed his Muslim contemporaries. Nevertheless, Reid believes that Anṭūn has contributed to the development of the secular outlook which gained strength in the Middle East in later decades.

The book is well-written and gives a good historical background of the status and the role of Christians in greater Syria and of the Syrian *émigrés* in Egypt. Above all, it portrays how one single Christian Arab, Farah Anṭūn, struggled to change the effects of the historical destiny of modern Christian Arabs as a minority among Muslim Arabs, and how he tried—however undiplomatically at times—to find for both communities more satisfactory ways of living together in peace, equality, and mutual respect.

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Issa J. Boullata

Modern Arabic Literature : A Bibliography of Articles, Books, Dissertations, and Translations in English. By Salih J. Altoma. Bloomington : Indiana University, Asian Studies Research Institute, 1975. Paperback, 73 pp.

The need for a bibliography like the one under review has been felt for a long while, and Professor Altoma has done students of modern Arabic literature a great service by publishing it. Not that it is the only bibliography available, for there are several in the field which are listed in this book itself. But this one is more comprehensive by comparison, though it has limited its own usefulness by confining itself to published material in English alone. It does not profess to be exhaustive even in English. *Humaniora Islamica* and a few other publications in English have been overlooked.

The information it presents is fairly accurate and the arrangement of the material under literary genres, subjects, and authors is easy to handle. However, the relegation of Ph.D. dissertations to a final section is unfortunate since their integration with the other entries would have served a better purpose. Cross-references to this section would have been helpful.

Cross-references are not many and some are lacking. For example, Mona Mikhail, "Broken idols : the death of religion as reflected in two short stories of Idrīs and Maḥfūẓ," is mentioned under Yūsuf Idrīs but not under Najīb Maḥfūẓ. Some inconsistencies could have been avoided. For example, M. M. Badawi's "Introduction" and "Biographical Notes" in his *An Anthology of Modern Arabic Poetry* are mentioned but not the "Introduction" and "Biographical Notes" of Mounah Khouri and Hamid Algar in their *An Anthology of Modern Arabic Poetry*. In the Authors section, some authors' names are followed by dates of birth and, if applicable, death while others are left with no dates at all. In one case the name given is Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī (1858-1930) where the intention is his son Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī. A few errors have crept in, e.g., Appollo School for Apollo School on p. 32, a cross-reference on p. 36 to Ode-Vasilyeva's entry No. 369 whereas its number is 368, and a reference on p. 43 to *MW* 65 (1975) and a few lines later to the same volume as *MW* 64 (1975). But those few errors in 850 entries should not detract from the great value of this bibliography.

Institute of Islamic Studies ISSA J. BOULLATA
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Vision and Revision in Arab Society. CEMAM Reports, Vol. 2 (1974). By staff of the Center for the Study of the Modern Arab World. Beirut : Dar El-Mashreq, 1975. Typescript, photo-offset, paperback. 184 pp. $ 5.60.

The theme of the 1974 reports of the Center for the Study of the Modern Arab World is "Vision and Revision in Arab Society." Under this theme, the staff of the Center have tried to capture the concerns

that gripped the Arabs in the year following the October war of 1973, as presented in about thirty periodicals, mostly dailies and weeklies, more than half of which are published in Beirut.

Starting with an analytical report on the colloquium of Arab intellectuals on the crisis of Arab cultural development held in Kuwait in April 1974, it moves to another on the second Islamic Summit Conference held in Lahore in February 1974. It then analyzes the internal changes in Egyptian political institutions, the Islamic Liberation Party's conspiracy in Egypt, and the phenomenal rise of the Lebanese Shī'a under the leadership of Imām Mūsā al-Ṣadr. After an analysis of a conservative religious column in a Beirut daily paper, it ends with a report on contemporary Arabic literature in Iraq, Syria, and Palestine.

The vision that runs through Arab turmoil is one aiming at a better and happier Arab society. Whether conservative or radical, the vision is shown to be pervasive. Revision, though not totally limited to intellectuals of a revolutionary character, is shown to be the source of conflicts, for it concentrates mainly on the religious and cultural heritage of the Arabs at a time when there is no agreement yet on how to accommodate it to the needs of the present and the future.

CEMAM Reports offer deep insights into contemporary Arab life and must be consulted by scholars engaged in the study of the modern Arab World. The theme of Vol. 1, No. 1 was "Tensions in Middle East Society," and that of Vol. 1, No. 2 was "Controversy, Dialogue and the New Arab Man." The theme of this volume continues to explore current change in Arab society and observe the conflicts that it engenders as the Arabs forge their way to modernity.

The press sources monitored for Vol. 2 are wider in representativeness than those of Vol. 1, but they are not exhaustive and still lack many sources, especially from the Maghrib. Monthly and quarterly Arab journals ought to be more frequently monitored for deeper analysis of more lasting trends, as CEMAM has realized when reporting on the "Round Table on Religion and Scientific Method in Islam" from the Egyptian monthly *al-Kātib* (Vol. 1) and on the "Kuwait Colloquium on the Crisis of Cultural Development in the Arab Nation" from the Lebanese monthly *al-Ādāb* (Vol. 2). There is room for a little more attention to correct and consistent transliteration and for typing accuracy. But on the whole, the CEMAM Reports remain a great help to those interested in the study of change in the Arab world.

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ISSA J. BOULLATA

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Dwight Martin Donaldson

(December 16, 1884 - May 11, 1976)

Dr. Dwight Donaldson has finished his course on earth, and has gone to be with his Lord whom he faithfully served. It had been a long course, for he was born in a Presbyterian manse in Ohio nearly ninety-two years ago, and it had carried him far. After graduating from Washington and Jefferson College in 1907, he went to the Punjab and taught in the Forman Christian College for three years. He returned to America for his theological education in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and at Harvard Divinity School. In 1927 he received the D.D. degree from Washington and Jefferson, and the following year he was awarded the Ph.D. degree by Hartford Theological Seminary.

In 1914 Dwight Donaldson was sent as an evangelistic missionary of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. to Meshed in northeast Iran, the sacred city of the Shi'ite Muslims, and there he served till his transfer to India in 1940. I first met Don, as his friends affectionately called him, in 1918, when he and his wife Bess, whom he had married in Teheran in 1916, were on furlough in America. I had been appointed to Meshed and was thrilled by the appeal which they made for that city and the great province of Khurasan in which it is located, and also for Afghanistan to the east, a vast region in which the only Christian witness was in Meshed. The devoted pioneer Rev. Louis Esselstyn, who had travelled 600 miles on horseback in 1911 from Teheran to take up his residence in Meshed, had died of typhus in the famine of 1918 as he was caring for the poor. His colleague Rolla Hoffman, M.D., was left alone, and the Donaldsons were eager to take some new missionaries back with them to Meshed. They conducted seven of us to Iran on that unforgettable voyage on the *Black Arrow* in 1919, and three of the seven finally reached Meshed. It was my privilege to be with the Donaldsons in Meshed for several years.

The burning desire of the Donaldsons was to make Jesus Christ as he is portrayed in the Bible known to the Muslims of the world. As they had no children they were able to devote themselves wholly to this task. They made journeys on horseback or donkeyback to many towns and villages in Khurasan for the purpose of making friends of the people and distributing the Scriptures and telling of the love of Jesus Christ. Once in 1924 they had the joy of accompanying a medical team led by Dr. Hoffman to Herat in Afghanistan where they spent a month. But Dwight Donaldson liked best the opportunity of teaching the Bible to individual inquirers who came to visit him in the reading room. I well remember two brothers who came for regular lessons, and who were members of the little group of male believers who were baptized in 1920. I was present in that upper room and witnessed the birth of the church of Christ in Meshed.

While in Meshed Dr. Donaldson began his studies in Shi'ite Islam, spending hours with Muslim teachers who brought him Arabic and Persian texts which provided the materials for his authoritative book, *The Shi'ite Religion: A History of Islam in Persia and Irak* (London: Luzac and Co., 1933). Later he published *Studies in Muslim Ethics* (London: S.P.C.K., 1953). He also contributed numerous articles to *The Muslim World*, of which he was a member of the Editorial Board for many years, and to other journals. Mrs. Donaldson's work was chiefly among women, who came to her home for Bible and sewing lessons. From them she learned of the folklore which she published in her unique book, *The Wild Rue* (London: Luzac and Co., 1938).

In 1940 Dr. Donaldson was invited to become the Principal of the Henry Martyn School of Islamics in India (now Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies), and there he and his wife served till their retirement in 1951. They traveled much about India, giving lectures and guidance to Indian and foreign Christians as they sought to witness to Christ among the Muslims. Their gracious and effective service was deeply appreciated.

After returning to America, Dr. Donaldson served for several years as pastor of a church in Alabama, and then he and Mrs. Donaldson made their residence in a pleasant community at Lakeland, Florida. There he continued his literary work, and his wife became an artist and painted many lovely pictures. She also wrote and published two remarkable books after she was ninety years of age, *Prairie Girl* and *Prairie Girl in Iran and India* (Galesburg, Illinois: Log City Books, 1971 and 1972, respectively), in which she told the fascinating story of her life before going to Iran in 1910 and the life of herself and her husband as missionaries. Her memory was amazing. She died at the age of 95, a year before the stroke which led to the death of her husband.

The last writing which Dr. Donaldson did was the careful preparation of a review of my book on the Baha'i faith. He was my faithful and beloved friend to the end.

Long and beautiful and fruitful were the lives of Dwight and Bess Donaldson, and we praise God that they finished their course with joy and have heard the Lord's "Well done!"

Philadelphia, Pa. WILLIAM MCELWEE MILLER

Fred Field Goodsell, B.D., H.T.S. 1905

(1880-1976)

Word has reached the Hartford Seminary Foundation of the death of one of its oldest graduates and supporters. In the words of the notice from his family, "Fred Field Goodsell climbed his last earthly mountain on August 13, 1976, when he died quietly in his sleep."

To introduce Fred Goodsell adequately for those who knew him well and to those who may not have known him is an impossible task. The activities and accomplishments of this great Christian leader are more than enough to fill several lifetimes, let alone that of one

individual. He served the mission of the Church for over four decades in a variety of capacities: missionary in Turkey, principal and president of schools of language and religion in Turkey, executive vice-president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions of the Congregational Christian Churches as well as, later, executive secretary for general administration of the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of Churches. He has written several books on the history of the American Board and a series of devotional readings based on his own scriptural meditations. Since his retirement, Dr. Goodsell served the American Board (and its successor, the United Church Board for World Ministries) in the capacity of historian and research associate. During the course of his retirement, he continued to teach at a number of schools and universities, including Hartford Seminary in 1960.

But a listing of his achievements and accomplishments does not do justice to Fred Goodsell. In a letter written about him in 1921, Melancthon W. Jacobus said,

> It would be difficult for me fully to express our high estimate of Mr. Goodsell's record as a student in the Seminary.
>
> He stood among the best men we have had at Hartford for many years, being assigned the William Thompson Fellowship....
>
> His methods of study were scholarly, his patience in work was unfailing, and his diligence indefatigable, while his character and life were a strong and steadying influence among the men.
>
> We have naturally followed with real interest his career since leaving us, and we have not been surprised at its success....
>
> His personality was always engaging. He made himself a lovable soul wherever he went.
>
> I do not know what is called for in the position for which he is being considered; but for the President of almost any institution of higher education in the mission field I would consider him a rare man.

Fred Field Goodsell was indeed a rare man, and the judgments of this 1921 letter have been amply borne out over the years; he is of that company of great and good individuals whose like is not often encountered. When he attended the 1975 Macdonald Center Summer Conference in Hartford, he announced that he was there to learn, not talk. Yet those of us who were with him at that time without exception learned far more from him than can be told. His was a full, rich, devoted life, one well worth remembering, treasuring and celebrating. More than that, however, he was our dear friend: we knew him with joy and respect, we mourn his death, and we rejoice at his life.

Macdonald Center
Hartford, Conn.

J. JERMAIN BODINE

1977 Summer Conference

PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

The Duncan Black Macdonald Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations announces its 1977 Summer Conference.

"WORDS OF MAN—SPEECH OF GOD :
LANGUAGE AND REVELATION IN ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY"

The Conference will be held on the campus of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, June 20 through July 1, 1977. It will provide Muslims and Christians an occasion to come to a deeper mutual insight on their respective understandings of revelation, the role of human language and expression in the revelatory process, and the problems and opportunities raised for inter-religious dialogue by differing views of revelation.

Prior to the main conference, the Center will conduct brief introductions to Christianity, Islam and their responses to common themes. Invited guests and Center staff will provide seminars and evening lectures on related subjects, including reflections on current issues.

A full descriptive brochure and application form is in preparation, and will be available at a later date.

For tuition, room and board a cost of $ 450.00 is anticipated. Limited scholarship aid for travel and conference costs is available to qualified applicants.

For further information, write to :

Dr. J. Jermain Bodine, Assistant Director
Duncan Black Macdonald Center
The Hartford Seminary Foundation
55 Elizabeth Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06105, USA

Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), Ninth Annual Meeting. The ninth Annual Meeting of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates was held at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City, October 1-3, 1976. The well attended program included panel discussions of numerous topics related to the contemporary Arab world: the Lebanese crisis (dealt with in three panels), immigrant problems, Arab-Israeli relations, the question of Palestine, education and science in the Arab world, modern Arabic literature, women in the Arab world. In addition to the panels, workshops were conducted dealing with means of providing media correctives in the field of information about the Arab world and with the subject of courses on the Arab world in public education. The AAUG is to be sincerely congratulated for the consistently high quality throughout the program and for the care evidenced in its arrangement and scheduling.

J. JERMAIN BODINE

Tripoli Conference. The April issue of *M.W.* included in the Notes of the Quarter a report on the Islamic-Christian conference held in Tripoli, Libyan Arab Republic, from February 1-6, 1976. The final declaration prepared following the conference included two articles (numbers 20 and 21) which raised political issues (Judaism-Zionism; the national rights of Palestinians; the formation of a commission to investigate alterations of sacred sites) which the Christian side had hoped would not be included since these topics had not come under discussion.

We wish to draw attention to an official statement in *L'Osservatore Romano* dated February 12 which says that "having studied paragraphs 20 and 21, the Holy See declares that it cannot accept them, as their contents do not correspond, in substantial points, with positions of the Holy See that are well known to all."

Arab and American Cultures. The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy sponsored a conference on "Arab and American Cultures" in Washington, D.C., on September 23-24, 1976. At a meeting, jointly sponsored by the AEI and the Library of Congress, the evening preceding the formal opening of the conference, Dr. Zaki Naguib Mahmoud (Cairo University) read his paper on "The Intellectual Life in Contemporary Egypt," and U.S. novelist and literary critic John Updike spoke on "The Cultural Situation of the American Writer."

At the conference sessions, participants delivered papers (one from the Arab point of view, one from the American) on each of the four main topics—history, literature, culture, politics—and these were followed by lively exchanges by respondents. Lack of space prevents us from listing all the speakers, who came from several countries overseas as well as from the United States. Titles of papers ranged from "American Culture and the Idea of Community" (Robert Nisbet, Columbia University) to "Cultural Aspects of Arab Diplomacy" (Mansour Khalid, Minister of Education, Democratic Republic of Sudan). Senator James Abourezk (D.-S. Dak.) spoke on "American Impressions of the Middle East Conflict." In a moving performance, Nizar Qabbani (Syrian poet and diplomat) spoke several of his poems in Arabic which were sensitively rendered into English by his niece, Renée Qabbani.

The need for "bridge-building" was a theme that ran through several of the talks and in a round-table discussion on "Can Cultures Communicate?" which was videotaped at one noon session. Moderated by Edward Stewart (University of Minnesota), this panel included Samuel P. Huntington (Harvard University), Laura Nader (University of California at Berkeley), Mustafa Safwan (Egyptian psychoanalyst, Paris), and Edward Said (Columbia University).

Congratulations and thanks are due to all who had a part in the planning and organizing of this conference.

The Hartford Seminary Foundation HELEN MCKINLEY

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

The list of periodicals regularly surveyed is published annually in the January issue.

I. *General and Miscellaneous. Manuscripts, libraries. History of Islamic Studies.*

3369 An Anonymous Arabic Treatise on Alchemy. R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young. *D.I.*, LIII (1976), 100-109.

3370 Une description arabe du mausolée d'al-Sayyida Nafīsa au Caire. Yusuf Rāġib. *Ar.*, XXIII (1976), 37-41.

3371 Ensigns of Royalty at the Mughal Court (in the Sixteenth Century). S. P. Verma. *I.C.*, L (1976), 41-45.

3372 The "Kitāb al-Miḥan," A Book on Muslim Martyrology. M. J. Kister. *J.S.S.*, XX (1975), 210-218.

3373 The Shrinking Frontiers of Islam. Aziz Ahmad. *I.J.M.E.S.*, VII (1976), 145-159.

3374 William Lithgow of Lanark's Travels in Syria and Palestine, 1611-1612. C. E. Bosworth, *J.S.S.*, XX (1975), 219-235.

II. *Pre-Islamic Arabia. Muḥammad. The Qur'ān. Ḥadīth.*

See also nos. 3385, 3388.

3375 God's Purpose in Creating according to the Qur'ān. Thomas J. O'Shaugnessy. *J.S.S.*, XX (1975), 193-209.

3376 Iblis und Mensch, Satan und Adam: Der Werdegang einer koranischen Erzählung. Edmund Beck. *Mus.*, LXXXIX, 1/2 (1976), 195-244.

3377 Surnaturel, prodiges prophétiques et incubation dans la ville de l'Envoyé d'Allâh. Alfred Morabia. *St.Isl.*, XLII (1975), 93-114.

III. *Religious Instruction. The Mosque. Religious Duties and Devotional Life. Ethics and Customs. Attitudes towards magic, etc. Sociology of Islam.*

See also nos. 3377, 3390, 3391, 3403, 3406, 3421, 3423, 3424.

3378 The Changing Role of Muslim Women. John L. Esposito. *I.M.A.*, VII, 1 (1976), 29-56.

3379 L'Image de la femme dans *KALÎLAH WA DIMNAH*. Mounira Chapoutat-Remadi. *Les Cahiers de Tunisie.* Tunis, XXIII, 91/92 (1975), 17-39.

3380 Islam e proprietà agraria in una recente *FETWÀ*. Paolo Minganti. *O.M.*, LV (1975), 273-281.

3381 Slavery, Islam and the Jakhanke People of West Africa. L. O. Sanneh. *Afr.*, XLVI (1976), 80-97.

IV. *Theology. Movements, sects; Shī'a. Philosophy. Sciences.*

See also nos. 3369, 3418, 3419.

3382 Abū l-Faraǧ al-Yabrūdī. J. Nasrallah. *Ar.*, XXIII (1976), 13-22.
3383 The Arabs—Their Vision of History and Political Action (I). Detlev H. Khalid. *I.M.A.*, VII, 1 (1976), 79-99.
3384 La création et l'investiture de l'homme dans le sunnisme ou la légende d'Adam chez al-Kisā'ī. Jean-Claude Vadet. *St.Isl.*, XLII (1975), 5-37.
3385 The Descending Scroll: A Study of the Notion of Revelation as Apocalypse in the Bible and in the Qur'ān. Patrick J. Ryan. *G.B.T.*, IV, 8 (1975), 24-39.
3386 The Origins of the Druze Religion (Fortzetzung). David R. W. Bryer. *D.I.*, LIII (1976), 5-27. (See also nos. 3310 and 3257.)
3387 The Platonism of Miskawayh and Its Implications for His Ethics. Majid Fakhry. *St. Isl.*, XLII (1975), 39-57.
3388 Some Zaydī Views on the Companions of the Prophet. Etan Kohlberg. *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXXIX, 1 (1976), 91-98.

V. *Sufism. Sufi Orders. Saints.*

3389 Bektaschiklöster in Anatolien vor 1826—Fragestellungen und Quellenprobleme. Suraiya Faroqhi. *D.I.*, LIII (1976), 28-69.
3390 Ghazālī on the Ethics of Action. George F. Hourani. *J.A.O.S.*, XCVI (1976), 69-88.
3391 The Tekke of Haci Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities. Suraiya Faroqhi. *I.J.M.E.S.*, VII (1976), 183-208.

VI. *Law. Politics; state; government. Nationalism. Socialism. Economics.*

See also nos. 3380, 3383, 3413, 3415, 3425.

3392 Arab Nationalism and Islam (Part II). Josef Muzikář. *Ar.Or.*, XLIII (1975), 302-323. (See also no. 3331.)
3393 Argument d'autorité, preuve rationnelle et absence de preuves dans la méthodologie juridique musulmane. Abdel Magid Turki. *St.Isl.*, XLII (1975), 59-91.
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